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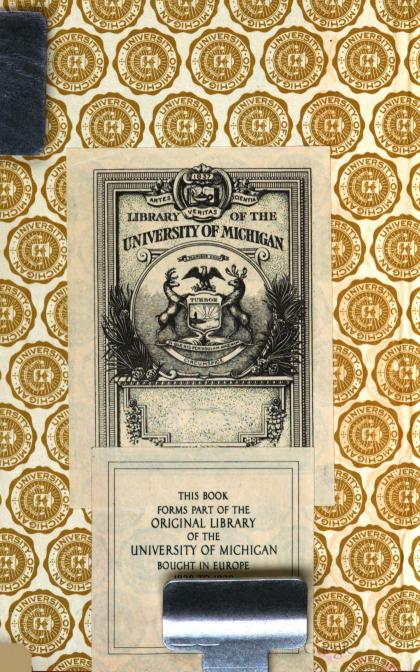
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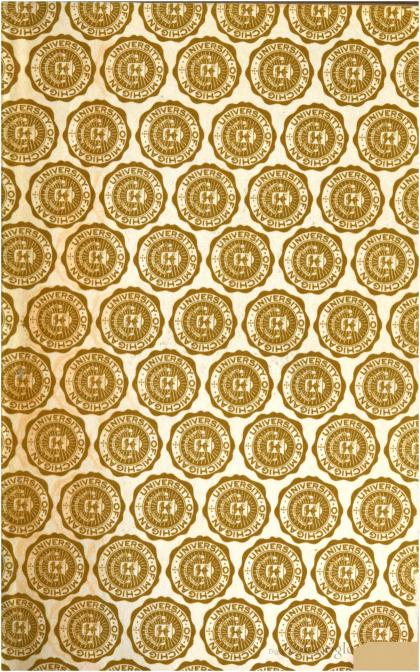
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IIG 260 ,A1 135



OF

MARCUS VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS,

AND

TITUS POMPONIUS ATTICUS;

THE LATTER FROM THE LATIN OF CORNELIUS NEPOS.

WITH

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES

FIVE FIRST CÆSARS.

By the Rev. EDWARD BERWICK,
AUTHOR OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA.

Multorum disce exemplo quæ facta sequaris, Quæ fagias: vita est nobis aliena magistra.—

EDINBURGH:

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1813.

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FRANCIS, EARL OF MOIRA,

&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

The placing of your Lordship's name in the front of the following humble performance, is scarcely so much for the purpose of recommending it to the public, as for that of openly testifying my high respect for a nobleman to whom I have been all my life obliged.

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7 28 BF

What more appropriate proof can I give of that high respect, than the inscribing to your Lordship the lives of two illustrious Romans, whose characters, as gentlemen and as scholars, cannot fail of being particularly interesting to one, whose attainments as a man of letters are so universally known, and whose honourable deportment as a nobleman, on every occasion of his life, has evinced the princely lineage from whence he is sprung.

The peculiar propriety of this small tribute of my respect and gratitude, will, I am persuaded, be more readily acknowledged, when it is

called to mind, that your Lordship has not only equalled, but exceeded these distinguished ancients in the love of virtue, and in uniform zeal for the welfare of your country, and the genuine liberties of mankind.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

With the most respectful esteem,
Your Lordship's devoted
and humble servant,
EDWARD BERWICK.

Esker, near Leizlip, May, 1812.

PREFACE.

In giving the lives of Messala Corvinus and Pomponius Atticus to the public, some apology may, perhaps, be deemed necessary. Whether the following account of Messala may be entitled to the appellation of a Life, is left to the judgment of the reader; but it appeared to me that history had preserved such a number of interesting, distinct, yet dispersed incidents of his character, as made a collection of the whole desirable.

Indeed the idea of first bringing together the scattered rays of his life, was suggested to me by a note in Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire, wherein that elegant writer has given, in his own peculiar manner, the leading features of it. However, independent of Gibbon's authority as an historian, the light in which Messala appears, when first introduced by Cicero to the notice of Brutus, is in itself sufficient to awaken posterity to the investigation of all that is known of him. In the following Memoirs of his life, I have examined carefully all the accounts given of him by ancient and modern writers; and arranged and connected them in the way I judged most suitable to the subject: and though I have not been able

to ascertain either the day of his birth, or that of his death, I trust that the circumstances of his history, now presented to the reader; may meet the approbation. and engage the attention, of every man who is conversant with classical learning and polite literature.—I shall make no further apology for this unambitious undertaking, but proceed to give the reason for trespassing on the public with a new translation of the life of Atticus, from the Latin of Cornelius Nepos, which has been so often given to the English reader. This life of Atticus I have here introduced, first, from his being a contemporary with Messala, and, secondly, from my humbly conceiving that a new version of the same, with notes historical and criti-

cal, together with illustrations more applicable to the text than had been given by former translators, might not be thought unacceptable at a time, when a dignified independence of character, and disinterested integrity, are so necessary to give stability to the state, and active energy to a constitution, which has stood the test of ages, and escaped a concussion of events, which has laid prostrate all the kingdoms of Europe.—To the whole is subjoined a brief historical sketch of the five first Cæsars, written some years ago, to elucidate a genealogy, which, without some such leading clue, is often obscure and perplexing. It is now offered to the public, from its being, in some measure, illustrative of the time wherein these two eminent personages lived; and from its demonstrating to the sovereigns of the earth, that no characters, however exalted by birth, or power, can long support their high authority, without the constant and vivifying influence of religion and virtue.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The Editor begs leave to inform the Public, that he is preparing for the Press the Lives of Caius Asinius Pollio, Marcus Terentius Varro, and Caius Cornelius Gallus, which he is compiling after the manner of that of Messala Corvinus, on the success of which with the Public will in a great measure depend their publication.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

MARCUS VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS.

PART FIRST.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

QF

MARCUS VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS.

In reading over Cicero's letters to Brutus, it is impossible not to be struck with the account which he gives of Messala, whom he describes in such language as to raise our esteem and admiration; and at the same time to awaken our curiosity to learn every thing left us of the life and character of such a man. Unfortunately for posterity, the knowledge of the period in which his conduct was most distinguished, is very imperfect; however there is enough of history and panegyric still remaining to make us regret the loss it is probable we have sustained. In general the style of panegyric, we must own, is little to be relied on; and the

¹ Epis. 15, ad Brutum.

testimony it conveys of illustrious characters ought ever to be received with doubt and hesitation. In the present instance, an exception may be allowed to a rule so very general, with some appearance of justice, when we have the evidence of a great variety of learned writers, and the concurrent approbation of some portions of unquestionable history, all unanimous in the same sentiments.—The person by whom Messala is first introduced to our notice affords an evidence of honourable import, and adds a degree of almost premature brilliancy to his character. How can we avoid being prepossessed in favour of a youth, when we see him at a crisis so awful and alarming as that which intervened between the death of Casar and the dreadful proscription which followed, recommended by Cicero to Brutus; recommended by the greatest orator and most enlightened statesman of the age, to the last active assertor of Roman liberty. It was but a few months previous to the proscription that Cicero wrote a letter to Brutus, in which, after introducing Messala to his notice in the most flattering manner, he lays open the whole political state of the Republic, from the death of Cæsar, in the year of Rome 709, to the year

710; but, as general history is not to be the object of these Memoirs, the author must confine his inquiries to the life of Messala alone, and sketch out the form and pressure of the times, as far as they may contribute to throw a light on the subject of it. This letter, written in the sixty-fourth year of Cicero's age. and last of his life, is an unquestionable proof that he was still in the full possession of all his great telents, and that the warmth and tenderness of his friendship were not abated: but this reflection only serves to make us deplore his melancholy fate, and to excite in us every feeling of indignation against a coalition which could, in cold blood, sign the death-warrant of the first philosopher and statesman of the time in which he lived.

It has been noticed, that the situation of affairs at Rome was most critical: Cicero had too late discovered the young Cæsar's hostile intentions to public liberty, his alarming reconciliation with Antony and Lepidus, and that his uncle's death was to be avenged by an exemplary punishment. He used all the arguments in his power to dissuade the youth from such a fatal undertaking: and at the same time gave the earliest intimation he could of

his designs to Brutus, who had then assumed the command of the army in Greece. As Messala, the subject of our Memoirs, was at this critical period setting out to join Cassius in the East, and was resolved to pass through Macedonia, where Brutus lay encamped, Cicero wrote by him the following epistle, which begins with a particular delineation of his character:

"You have Messala now with you. It is not possible, therefore, for me to explain by letter, though ever so accurately drawn, the present state of our affairs, as exactly as he can, who not only knows them all more perfectly, but can describe them more elegantly than any man: for I would not have you imagine, Brutus, (though there is no occasion to tell you what you know already, but that I cannot pass over in silence such an excellence of all good qualities;) I would not have you imagine, I say, that for probity, constancy, and zeal for the republic, there is any one equal to him; so that eloquence, in which he wonderfully excels, scarce finds a place among

² The translation of Cicero's letter to Brutus is copied from that given in Dr Middleton's Life of the former.

his other praises: since even in that his wisdom shines the most eminent, by his having formed himself with so much judgment and skill to the truest manner of speaking. Yet his industry all the while is so remarkable, and he spends so much time in study, that he seems to owe but little to his parts, which are still the greatest. But I am carried too far by my love for him: for it is not the purpose of this epistle to praise Messala, especially to Brutus; to whom his virtue is not less known than to myself; and these very studies, which I am praising, still more: whom when I could not part with without regret, I comforted myself, with reflecting, that, by his going away to you, as it were to my second self, he both discharged his duty, and pursued the surest path to glory." The remaining part of the letter is employed by Cicero in unfolding the state of public affairs at Rome; and, in conclusion, urging the necessity of Brutus's coming to Italy with his army as soon as possible; for, adds he, "some constitution must be established in the city, to effect which your authority will be absolutely necessary."

This is supposed to be the last letter of Cicero's extant; for history informs us that Cæ-

sar. Antony, and Lepidus met soon after in a small island in the river Rhenus, about two miles from Bononia, for the purpose of setthing the state of the Republic: but, alas! the interview closed in extinguishing it for ever in the blood of all its best friends, who were doomed to destruction by a proscription 3 at which the Sun itself ought to have blushed. Cicero fell regretted by all good men; and posterity, which must for ever love and admire his virtues, humanely wishes, for the sake of her sons, to draw the veil of oblivion over the execrable names of those three men, who in cold blood proscribed three hundred senators and two thousand knights, all men the most attached to the ancient constitution of their country. When we consider the character of Messala, and the party he had espoused at this critical exigency, we may naturally expect to find his name in the bloody roll of the con-

³ I believe, says Plutarch, there never was any thing so atrocious, or so execrably savage, as this commerce of blood: for while a friend was given up for an enemy received, the same action murthered at once the friend and the enemy: and the destruction of the former was still more horrible, because it had not even resentment for its apology.—LIFE OF ANTONY.

demned. It is not to be supposed that the friend of Cicero and the republic could escape in the wild fury let loose on the Roman world. In the hour of destruction his name was marked for the assessin: and, had he remained in Italy, we should now perhaps have only the melancholy office of lamenting over his untimely fate. But his kinder star was predominant, he had joined Cassius in the East. and was out of the reach of his enemies. The death of Cicero abated the fury of the Triumvirs, who now presumed that the last remains of the old republican spirit, which had awed them in Italy, expired with him. The progress made by the arms of Brutus and Cassius soon called them to reflect on their perilous situation, and warned them to arrest the hand of the executioner. In a moment of serious consideration, they calculated that the acqui-

And bay'd about with many enemies;
And some that smile, have in their hearts, I fear,
Millions of mischiefs.

Julius Cæsar.

⁴ Messala Corvinus boasted that Cassius was his general.—TACITUS' ANNALS, b. iv. c. 34.

⁵ Antony. ————Brutus and Cassius Are levying powers; we must straight make head. Octavius. Let us do so; for we are at the stake,

sition of some of the best surviving characters might considerably weaken the party of the enemy, give some degree of sanction to their future proceedings, and help to draw a veil over the blood lavished by their orders. consequence of such sentiments, a special edict6 was issued, under the seal of triumviral authority, excepting Messals and Marcus Varro from the general slaughter. This edict of mercy is still extant, and runs in the following terms: "Whereas it appears, by the evidence of concurring witnesses, that neither Marcus Valerius Messala Corvinus, nor Marcus Terentius Varro, were so much as in Rome when Cæsar the Dictator was murdered, let their names be erased from the roll of the proscribed." Marcus Varro was far advanced in years at the time this pardon was offered; he accepted it, retired to the country which he loved, and improved by his studies, and died amongst his books almost in the ninetieth year of his age. Messala spurned with indignation

⁶ This edict was directed to Munatius Plancus, then consul.—APPIAN. b. iv. BLACKWELL's Court of Augustus, vol. ii. p. 95. Horace addressed an ode to this Plancus, wherein he advised him to banish his anxiety, and remain in his own delightful villa near Tibur.

the benefit of such an act of grace; he was sensible that their conduct originated from necessity, and not from sincerity, being fully convinced that no dependence could be placed on the faith of men who were laying waste their country with ruin, and shedding all its best blood. He had joined the standard of the Republic: to which he adhered until he saw it broken in the plains of Philippi. On that day, so important to liberty, we are told that he had the command of a legion, and took his stand on the right, being near his beloved Bru-Plutarch informs us, from some writings of Messala and Volumnius, which remained in his time, that the camp of the young Cæsar. was forced, his legions routed, and three eagles and other ensigns taken from the enemy without the loss of one of their own. this rash impetuosity of the right wing is to be ascribed an error, which, being succeeded by

JULIUS CÆSAR.

Messala's legion first turned the left wing of Cæsar, and was followed by those that were stationed near him.—PLUTARCH'S Life of Brutus.

⁸ Titinius. O Cassius, Brutus gave the word too early, Who, having some advantage on Octavius, Took it too eagerly; his soldiers fell to spoil Whilst we by Antony were all inclosed.

a train of others, brought on defeat, the death of Cassius, and all the other misfortunes that fell upon the Republic and its friends. When Brutus heard of the precipitate death of Cassins, which was not before his coming up to his camp, he wept over his body, and called him "the last of the Romans;" by which he intimated, says Plutarch, "that Rome could never produce another man of equal spirit." We are told by the same author, from the Memoirs of Messala, that Cassius supped in private with some of his most intimate friends. and, contrary to his usual manner, he was pensive and silent. Messala adds, that after supper he took him by the hand, and pressing it close, said courteously in Greek, (the language which he used upon such occasions,) "" Bear witness, Messala, that I am reduced

⁹ Brutus. Thou last of all the Romans, fare thee well!

It is impossible, that ever Rome Should breed thy fellow. Friends, I owe more tears To this dead man, than you shall see me pay.

Lassius. Give me thy hand, Messala, Be thou my witness, that against my will, As Pompey was, am I compell'd to set Upon one battle all our liberties.—Julius Cæsar.

to the same necessity as was Pompey the Great, of hazarding the liberty of my country upon one battle. Yet I have confidence in our good fortune, upon which we ought still to rely, though our measures be indiscreet." These, Messala informs us, were the last words that Cassius spoke, before he bade him farewell: and the following day, being his birth-day, he invited Cassius to sup with him. The name of Messala renders even the smallest portion of authentic history respecting him interesting; and consequently the following circumstance, though but slightly connected with these Memoirs, cannot be passed over in silence. The conduct of Brutus towards the slaves whom he had taken prisoners, by ordering them to be put to the sword after the first day's battle, may certainly be considered as se-

Cassius. —— Messala,
This is my birth-day; as this very day
Was Cassius born.—JULIUS CÆSAR.

² According to the old translation of Plutarch, it is Cassius's birth-day, not Messala's. Had Cassius died on his birth-day, M. Ricard rightly supposes such an instance of a great man's dying on his birth-day would not have been omitted in Plutarch's list. Shakspeare follows the old translation:

yere; and yet when we reflect that the guard. ing of them during a future engagement would have been attended with much danger; that he had found them tampering with his soldiers; that the anguish of his mind in consequence of his late defeat, and the sudden death of his friend Cassius, must have driven him almost to distraction; when we consider the case under all these circumstances, how can we abstain from execrating the authors of a civil war, and deploring its sad and afflicting effects, which compel the most virtuous to offer violence to their natures, and to sacrifice every principle of humanity to the imperious necessity of events. However, the mildness of Brutus's disposition appears in his dismissal of as many as he dared of those freemen and citizens whom he had taken prisoners; and when he found this act of mercy gave offence to some of his officers, who were their implacable enemies, he sent them away privately; and 3 the tenderness of his nature exerted itself several ways to shelter them from slaughter. Amongst



³ His life was gentle, and the elements So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up, And say to all the world, This was a man. JULIUS CESAR.

the prisoners were Volumnius, a mimic, and Saculio, a buffoon, who were brought before Brutus, and accused of continuing, even in their captivity, their scurrilous language and abusive jests. Brutus was so engaged with business, that he could not attend to the complaint: and the accused were carried to Messals, who, always inclined to lenity, gave it as his opinion, "that they should be publicly whipped, and sent naked to the enemy." such treatment he thought the shame would light on Cassar and Antony for retaining in their service two such associates and comrades. whose vocation was that of ridiculing and reviling the miseries of their fellow-creatures: but this humane advice was rejected, and the poor wretches, at the suggestions of Publius Casca, and some other officers, were led away and sacrificed to the injured manes of Cassius. In the second engagement which Brutus had with Cæsar, though Messala's name is not narticularly mentioned by Plutarch, we may conclude his conduct as an officer was such as did not lessen the reputation he had earned in the first. We all too well know the event of the battle, Brutus fell, and with him the liberty

of Rome. Messala and Lucius Bibulus retired to the island of Thasos, to weep over the misfortunes of their friends, and the ruin of the Republic. The spirit of their party was broken, and an almost general despair had taken possession of their minds. A second proscription was issued from the camp of the victorious generals, and was marked with blood like unto the first. All the more violent republicans, whose courage was not quite broken down by the late defeat, cast their eyes on Messalas and Bibulus, and called on them

JULIUS CÆSAR.

Thasos, an island in the Ægean Sea, near the mouth of the Nessus in Thrace.

This was the noblest Roman of them all:
All the conspirators, save only he,
Did that they did in envy of great Cæsar;
He only in a general honest thought,
And common good to all, made one of them.

⁵ Messala, says Velleius Paterculus, whose character then shone refulgent in arms, and whose authority in the camp was not inferior to that of Brutus and Cassius, being invited by the army that survived the battle of Philippi, to take their command, declined the honour, saying, he had rather owe his safety to the kindness of Casar, then make further trial of the doubtful fate of another battle. No circumstance of the victory, adds the

to assume the command of whatever force still survived. "We have troops enough," said they, "and able generals to form a new army. From the wreck of Philippi we shall collect men sufficient to defend the state. Has the fate of Rome depended on the lives of but two men?" These last words of expiring virtue were uttered in vain. Messala and Bibulus refused to embark in their cause: "It has cost Rome too much blood already," they replied, "and we must yield to the storm, and fall under the power of the strongest."

It would lead us too far from the subject of these Memoirs, to enter into a particular discussion for the purpose of examining the truth of these words. In the then situation of public affairs, what line of conduct should Messala and Bibulus have pursued? In making a decision, they must have taken into consideration, first, their late defeat, which deprived them of the two men in whom their hopes and the hopes of Rome centered; next, the gloomy complexion of the times, the al-

historian, gave so much pleasure to Cæsar as the saving of Corvinus; and no man was ever more piously grateful than what he was ever after to his benefactor.—
Vel. PAT. b. ii. c. 71.

most total extinction of the old republican virtue, the depravity of all parties, the ambition of the great men, and the general tendency of all things to a monarchy. Whether Messala should have taken an active part with either Cæsar or Antony, may fairly admit of some question. He was well acquainted with both their characters, knew how much the corruption of the times had infected their hearts. and how ambition had divested them of every principle of virtue. And now, were it asked what a wise and honourable man should have done at such a time, and in such a momentous crisis of affairs, it would not be easy to return a satisfactory answer. Should he have collected the scattered remains of the republican forces, and, in defiance of reason, and all probability of success, have taken the command of them, and fought them to the last? Or should he, in despair, have fallen on his sword like Cassius and Brutus? Messala's experience of the real situation of things advised him against the first, and his virtue, we must hope, against the last. But it may be said he should have retired from the world, like his friend Tibullus, and have spent the remainder of his life in peace and philosophy. Such a

step, had he taken it, might, it is to be feared, have proved fatal to him; or at least must have been attended with great danger on account of his exalted rank and well-known character. It appears from every point of view in which his then situation can be considered, that it held out to him this only alternative, either to have joined the victorious party, or fallen, like Cicero, a victim to the furious spirit of the cruel proscription. Fortunately for mankind, the former sentiment prevailed; and the Roman people had often reason to rejoice, that a man of such virtue and humanity held so high a place in the estimation of their rulers: and the freedom and dignity which he uniformly asserted, for the rest of his life, in a most despotic court, must have justified to them, as it has done to posterity, the apparent inconsistency of his conduct, and seeming relinquishment of character, in espousing a cause which his understanding condemned, and his heart reproba-He saw at Philippi the spirit of the old republic prostrate in the dust, the standard of Liberty broken, and all her friends humbled or subdued. Under circumstances such as have been noticed, he listened to the persuasive advice of the accomplished Asinius Pollio, 6 who undertook to reconcile him to Autony, and to secure the lives of all who should surrender under his command. Messala and Bibulus yielded to his expostulations; and Pollio had the eminent merit of securing the neutrality, if not the services, of such a number of brave men, and of adding a weight and consequence to his party by the acquisition of a character so highly esteemed as that of Messala. Antony passed over to Thasos, 7 and

⁶ Caius Asinius Pollio is always ranked among the most illustrious men of his age, and his character is too well known to require any particular eulogy here. Asinius Pollio, says Melmoth, was in every respect one of the most accomplished persons among his contemporaries. His extensive genius was equal to all the nobler branches of polite literature; and he gave the most applauded proofs of his talents as a poet, an orator, and an historian. He united the most lively and pleasing vein of wit and pleasantry, with all that strength and solidity of understanding which is necessary to render a man of weight in the more serious and important occasions of life: in allusion to which uncommon assemblage of qualities, it was said of him that he was a man omnium horarum.

⁷ Thasos, an island in the Ægean Sea, near Thrace, from which it is separated by a small channel; it was famous for its vines, the wine of which was remarkable for its fine flavour; it abounded also in excellent marble.— Θασσος αγαθωι is a proverbial saying for great plenty.

with great frankness received both Messala and Bibulus into fayour, and was by them put in possession of all the wealth and magasines of provisions which had been amassed in the island, as the great storehouse of the two armies. The friends of philosophy and literature have cause to rejoice that Horatius Flaccus, and Albius Tibullus, who appeared in the ranks of the republic at Philippi, survived that disastrous day; both of them lived in the greatest intimacy and friendship with Messala: the former soon made his peace with Cæsar, whose heart his literary conversation and instructive writings helped to soften, and to make him the father, instead of the tyrant, of the Roman people: the latter retired to his country seat at Pedum, where, under

With thee I saw Philippi's plain,
Its fatal rout, a fearful scene:
And dropp'd, alas! the inglorious shield,
Where Valour's self was forced to yield,
Where soil'd in dust the vanquish'd lay,
And breath'd th' indignant soul away.

Horace, b. ii. ode 7.

⁹ Quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?—Ses HORACE's simple and natural Epistle to Tibullus, b. i. ep. 4.

the patronage of Messala, he devoted his hours of leisure to philosophy and the muses.

After the battle of Philippi, which happened in the latter end of the year 711, in the consulate of Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Lucius Munatius Plancus, history mentions not the name of Messala till the year 713. As he joined the arms of Antony, it is to be supposed that he followed his fortunes and his pleasures in his first progress to the East. All writers ancient and modern, who have noticed Antony's eastern tour, have celebrated the interview which he had at Tarsus with Cleopatra, whose irresistible charms at the age of fifteen are known to have captivated the eldest son of Pompey the Great, and, at one-and-twenty, to have subdued the soul of Julius Cæsar. When the Egyptian queen entered the Cydnus' she was in all the bloom

O friendly to the best pursuits of man, Friendly to thought, to virtue and to peace, Domestic life in rural leisure passed.—COWPER.

¹ See Blackwell, vol. ii. p. 228.

² Agrippa. Royal wench, She made great Cæsar lay his sword to bed.

Enob. The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne Rurnt on the water.

of youth and beauty; and the uncontrouled dominion she held over the mind of Antony from that time till her death, in the 39th year of her age, was felt and regretted by the Roman people. After Cleopatra's departure, Daphne³ was chosen by the Triumvir as his next place of residence; and for some time he indulged in all the luxuries of that delicious abode; careless of the disturbances raised at Rome by his wife Fulvia, and unmindful of the unsettled state of Asia and of the Parthian war. Whilst he tarried on the banks of the Orontes, we are told, a deputation of Jewish

Mecanas. Now, Antony must leave her utterly. Enob. Never, he will not.

Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale
Her infinite variety.

Antony and Cleopatra.

³ The temple and village of Daphne, near Antioch, are described by Gibbon in his happiest manner. See his Roman History, vol. iv. p. 106.—Sir Walter Raleigh speaks of Daphne as a place of delight.

Aliquantum agrorum Daphnensibus dedit Pompeius, quo lucus ibi spatiosior fieret, delectatus amœnitate loci, et aquarum abundantia.—*Eutropius*, lib. 6.

⁴ This was a second deputation: Antony had received a deputation on a similar account some time before when quartered in Bithynia. BLACKWELL, vol. ii. p. 208. At which time, adds Josephus, Herod was in such favour

ambassadors waited on him, praying a redress of grievances against the usurpations of Fasail and Herod, the two sons of Antipater the Idumean, a man who was illustrious by his birth, his riches, and abilities. A day was appointed by Antony for the solemn hearing of the cause; the ambassadors of the Jews appeared at the head of a most respectable body of lawyers, 5 and charged the two brothers who were present with many acts of despotic power and oppression. Herod was fortunate in having prevailed on Messala, 6 who happened to be then at Antioch, to appear in his favour, who pleaded his cause with so much strength and eloquence, that Antony, after hearing both sides of the question, turned to Hyrcanus the high-priest, (whom Herod had persuaded to attend the trial,) and publicly called on him to declare, whether he believed Fa-

with Antony, that the ambassadors could not even obtain a hearing.

⁵ Blackwell says, they were an hundred of the most powerful men in the nation, who carried with them some of the *ablest lawyers* and *best speakers* of their country.—Vol. ii. p. 241.

⁶ Blackwell, vol. ii. p. 241. Josephus says, Messala opposed the insinuations of the Jewish lawyers, and defended the cause of the young men.

sail and Herod, or their accusers, would best acquit themselves of the administration? As we are informed that Herod was at this time deeply in love with the beautiful Mariamne," the grand-niece of Hyrcanus, and even then betrothed to her, the high-priest's decision can scarcely be doubted. Judgment was given in favour of the two brothers; and Antony without delay appointed them tetrarchs of The deputies were enraged at the decision, and used such insolent language to Antony, that he ordered fifteen of them to be seized and thrown into irons; and had not the high-priest interceded in their behalf, he would have given command to have had them all put to death. Some time after the determination of this affair, Antony returned to Rome, where Herod appeared again as a suppliant, "imploring assistance against the Parthians, who, he said, had invaded Judea, murdered his brother Fasail, driven him from

⁷ Whose beauty, says Blackwell, though yet in the bud, being scarce fourteen, promised in time the richest bloom. The fine structure of her body, and her most charming gait, says Josephus, exceeded all the women of her age.

⁸ Blackwell, vol. ii. p. 394, &c.

his dominions, and made Antigonus king." The young tetrarch applied to Antony, his old friend and protector; and Messala was once more induced to stand forth his advocate. Messala and Sempronius Atratinus introduced him to the senate, made his case known to the fathers, and obtained a decree in his favour, declaring him king. This solemn determination of Herod's cause, from which his reign is considered to commence, took place in the year of Rome 713, in the consulate of Cneius Domitius Calvinus, and Caius Asinius Pollio. Whether Messala returned with Antony to the East we are not informed, nor in what manner he spent his time, if he did: from the character he possessed previous to his reconciliation with the Triumvirs, it is not to be supposed he could relish the dissolute life Antony led there: and this is an opinion we might have formed even had we not had the event to confirm its truth, which tells us, he was at last so disgusted with his scandalous conduct and servile meanness to the Egyptian queen, that, some time before the battle of Actium, he warmly espoused the interests of Cæsar, which he continued to support during the remainder of his life. From the

year 713, in which the cause of Herod was finally settled, to the year 717, when Marcus Vispanius Agrippa took the command of Capsar's fleet, we are left in the dark as to the part adopted by Messala in the transactions of the intermediate years. Whoever has carefully perused the history of the times from the battle of Philippi, cannot be a stranger to the ambition of Antony and Cæsar, to the mutual jealousies which rankled and fostered in each other's bosom, and to the various temporary but ineffectual expedients used to reconcile them. Lepidus had fallen into merited neglect; he retained the name, without possessing the power which gave consequence to the character of Triumvir. His place was occupied by the young Pompey,9 with such a

portion of spirit and ability as did not tarnish the honours of that mighty name: and for some time his well-earned naval reputation held the balance of power even between the cival chiefs. Had not Agrippa taken the command of Cæsar's fleet, and Pompey been remiss in improving the opportunities which fortune threw in his way, Rome might not have had Augustus to boast of for its master. Messala, we find, was second in command under Agrippa, and this distinguished rank is a manifest proof how high his character stood with the first man of the age in integrity and stalents, and makes us some compensation for the frequent chasms in his history. To those who have studied the various naval actions between the two fleets of Pompey and Cæsar, the perfidious character of Menadorus, or

And quietness, grown sick of rest, would purge By any desperate change.—Antony and Cleopatra.

I agree with the learned author of the Court of Augustus, in thinking that Messala's presence in this Sicilian war (considering the high respectability of his character) was a public condemnation of Pompey's conduct, and a convincing proof that the measures and disposition of Cæsar were beginning to assume a better and fairer aspect.

Menas, cannot have escaped observation: but his naval talents ranked so high in the estimation of both parties, that they served to palliate to them, and in some measure to excuse his frequent tergiversations, his repeated breaches of faith, and the infamous proposal which he made to Pompey at the peace of Misenum, in 713, for the cutting off at one blow his two great enemies Antony and Cessar: a proposal which, to the everlasting homour of the youth, he spurned with the great-

Are in thy vessel. Let me cut the cable, And when we are put off, fall to their throats. All then is thine.

Pompey. Ah, this thou shouldst have done,
And not have spoken on't. In me, 'tis villainy;
In thee 't had been good service. Thou must know,
'Tis not my profit that does lead mine honour,
Mine honour, it. Repent that e'er thy tongue
Hath so betray'd thine act. Being done unknown,
I should have found it afterwards well done;
But must condemn it now. Desist, and drink.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

He entertained them, however, says Plutarch, very politely, after conducting them over a bridge from the promontory of Misenum, where the peace was signed, to his ship, that rode at anchor,

² Menas. These three world-sharers, these competitors,

est indignation, though it offered him the empire of the Roman world. The last act of perfidy of which Menas was guilty, was a total dereliction of the party of Pompey, which, whilst he was meditating, he informed Cæsar, by means of his spies, that if either Marcus Agrippa, or Valerius Messala, would pledge their honour for his safety and protection, he would again return to his service. Messala, who at this time commanded in Agrippa's absence, scrupled pledging to him his faith, and rejected with disdain the traitor's offers; 3 but being importuned by the pressing and earnest solicitations of Cæsar, he complied, and Menas once more joined the fleet of Cæsar. This desertion was soon followed by an action between Demochares and Agrippa, the admirals of the two fleets, in which the latter was victorious. Some time previous to this engagement, Messala had been sent by Cæsar with two legions to reinforce Lepidus, who was

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³ Blackwell's words are, "The noble Messala (he was so in every sense of the word,) scrupled at first to pledge his faith to such a slippery rascal as Menas; but being pressed by Cæsar at least to deprive their enemy of a daring fellow, he complied, and Menas once more deserted to Cæsar."—Vol. ii. p. 443.

stationed on the southern coast of Sicily: after performing this service, he hastened back, and found Cæsar still hovering with his fleet near the straits of Messana. The news of Agrippa's naval success in the action with Demochares, and of Pompey's having quitted Messana, soon reached Cæsar: he instantly saw the necessity of striking a decisive blow; he therefore left Messala with two legions at Leucopetra, 4 and set sail for Taurominium, with the design of surprising the garrison of that place. Pompey, apprehensive of such a step being taken, appeared at once before Taurominium with both a fleet and land army. The surprise and utter consternation into which Cæsar and his troops were thrown, was near being followed by the most serious consequences. The opportunity, however, was, as usual, neglected by Pompey; and this oversight gave the Cæsarians time to fortify their camp: Pompey then withdrew to his fleet, with the design of cutting off Cæsar's

^{*} A promontory about six miles east from Rhegium, in the country of the Brutii, in which the Appennines end. These mountains are supposed to sink in the seahere, and to rise again at Taurominium in Sicily.

retreat. The next day we find a battle was fought, which continued long and bloody; Cæsar was defeated, and with great difficulty escaped to Abala, a small narrow creek on the Calabrian shore, 5 where he was forced to put in late at night, attended only by a single soldier. The country was soon alarmed, and the people flocked from their hills to learn the news of the battle. Cæsar thought of the camp of Messala, and looked to it for safety. His defeat, his perilous escape, the darkness of the night, all conspired to render his situation peculiarly distressing. If, in this sad vicissitude of fortune, the blood of the proscription had presented itself to his affrighted imagination, what must have been the feelings of him to whom the Fates had destined the sovereignty of the Roman world? Appian says, he coasted from creek to creek, till he met a party of straggling soldiers, who knew him, and carried him in a most miserable plight to the camp of Messala.—We have here a melancholy instance of the unaccountable changes of fortune. Cæsar, in this helpless condition, brought before

⁵ Appian. b. v.

the man, whom he had devoted to death, on whose head he had set a price, and promised liberty to the slave who should murder him. Messala's character in this instance shines forth: with peculiar splendour: he received his old enemy as a friend, considered his life sacred, and treated him with the tenderest This act of unparalleled generosity on the part of Messala is a subject of high commendation with the later Greek writers, 6 and is a convincing proof to us at this day, that Roman virtue was then something more than Such an instance of disinterested conduct must have sunk deep into the heart of Cæsar; and we are glad to know, that, as soon as he returned to Rome, he took the earliest opportunity which presented itself, of marking his gratitude to his deliverer. He increased the number of the College of Augurs, for the express purpose of rewarding Messala with a seat in that venerable body. 7.

⁶ Id nunc memorare libuit Romanæ virtutis exemplum quando, Messala habens in potestate proscriptorem suum desolatum, in tanta calamitate refovit ut imperatorem servavitque.—APPIAN.

⁷ Blackwell, vol. ii. p. 455.

This election was held in the year 717, in the consulship of Lucius Gellius Poplicola and Marcus Cocceius Nerva.⁸ Cæsar soon became sensible of the advantages arising from Menas's last act of treachery; for by it the balance of power fell into his hands, and in a short time he acquired such a superiority at sea by the judicious conduct of Agrippa, that Pompey was totally routed in the first general engagement, and fled with a most unbecoming precipitation to Asia; where he was murdered by one of Antony's officers, the ungrateful Titius, whose life had been spared by him when master of Sicily.⁹ This event,

⁸ Cocceius Nerva is mentioned by Horace in his Journey to Brundusium. He appears to have been an amiable man, and much respected by all parties, so that he was nominated, both by Octavias and Antony, to accommodate their differences on the occasion of the aforesaid journey to Brundusium. With him Mæcenas was named by Octavius, and Pollio by Antony. This battle was fought near the promontory of Pelorus, and the victory was chiefly owing to the valour and address of Agrippa. Mæcenas signalized himself on the occasion, and had a share in the glory.

⁹ He was taken prisoner by Memas in the Sickian war, and carried to Sextus Pompey, who gave him his life, and treated him as a friend.

which happened in the year 718, extinguished the last surviving hopes of the republic. He was the last of the family of Pompey the Great, had long been the friend of the discontented, the refuge of the proscribed, and terror of the Triumvirate. His death opened both sea and land to his successful competitor, and was in a very few years succeeded by that long-expected struggle for superiority between Antony and Cæsar, which ended in the ruin of the one, and in the elevation of the other to the head of the Roman empire.

After the fall of Pompey, Cæsar's star rose the ascendant in the West; and as his superiority was now acknowledged, he made his entry into Rome in the humble splendour of the lesser triumph. From this time his style and language became more accommodated to the constitution of his country, and the ge-

I Called an ovation.

² In the full contemplation of this change which had taken place in Cæsar's mind, Dr Blackwell thinks that Horace composed his celebrated Ode to Calliope and the Muses, in which are inculcated the mildest maxims and wisest precepts:

[&]quot; Vos Cæsarem altum, militiå simul Fessas cohortes abdidit oppidis,

neral feelings of the people; and his councils more the result of prudence and moderation. Dear-bought experience had given him a knowledge of himself, which is of all knowledge the rarest to be acquired: and this knowledge the wisdom of his ministers expanded, and converted to the public good. His court soon became the seat of every muse; and all the arts began to flourish under his fostering protection. Mæcenas sought out literary merit wherever it could

Finire quærentem labores
Pierio recreatis Antro.
Vos lene consilium et datis, et dato
Gaudetis almæ.

Vis consili expers mole ruit sua:
Vim temperatam Dii quoque provehunt
In majus.
HORACE, lib. iii. ode 4.

³ Mæcenas, even in going to Brundusium to reconcile a misunderstanding which had taken place between Cæsar and Antony, was accompanied by Virgil, Horace, Varius, Heliodorus, and several other men of letters. The important affairs in which this able minister was concerned, were no interruptions to his natural and usual gaiety. His attention was never turned from the Muses, nor deviated from his familiar intercourse with those who cultivated them. The agreeable and interesting account which is given by Horace of this journey is known to every reader of taste and classical information. Horace, in speaking of his first introduction to Mæcenas,

be found; and the bounty of his master gave it every encouragement. Cæsar himself was attached to letters, was no mean judge of polite literature, and took great pleasure in the company of the learned. This intercourse between the prince and men of genius was cultivated with great attention and judgment by the first minister of state; and, in the end, it changed and humanised a mind from which a perturbed and sanguinary ambition seemed to have eradicated every vestige of tenderness and virtue: But who could take counsel with

and of the persons by whom he gained access to the minister, uses this language:

From several passages in Horace, it appears that Mæcenas took the wisest precautions in the choice of his friends, before he admitted them to a confidential intercourse:

See Schomberg's Life of Macenas, which is only an abridgment of that published by Meibomius.

[&]quot;Nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit, optimus olim Virgilius, post hunc Varius dixere quid essem, Ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus, &c. Sed quod eram, Narro: respondes, ut tuus est mos, Pauca; abeo et revocas nono post mense, jubesque Esse in amicorum numero."

[&]quot; Difficiles aditus primos habet."

[&]quot; Paucorum hominum et mentis bene sanæ," &c.

Mæcenas without having his understanding enlightened, admire Messala without having his heart improved, converse with Horace without gaining a knowledge of mankind, or listen to the muse of Virgil without having his taste corrected, and his morals amended?

Whilst Cæsar was using every means in his power to gain the affections of the senate and people. Antony and Cleopatra were rioting in all the luxury of the East. Whilst Cæsar was hardening his troops in the Dalmatian wars, and adding new conquests to his arms, Antony was consuming the strength and vigour of his army in rash and fruitless expeditions to Parthia and Armenia. In the year 718, Messala was dispatched to reduce the Salassi, a fierce people who had rebelled, and who, being situated in the midst of the Pennine and Grecian Alps, had long bid defiance to every attempt made by a regular army to subdue them. As they commanded

⁴ Dans une Vallie profonde, couverte de l'Alpe Pennine et de l'Alpe Greque, ou du Grand et du Petit Saint Bernard, qu'occupoient les Salassi, une Colonie de Pretoriens établie sous le regne d'Auguste, prit le nom d'Augusta Pratoria et celui d'Aouste est reste à cette ville.—D'ANVILLE.

a most important pass from Italy to Gaul, it was thought both adviseable and necessary to dislodge them. Messala set out on the expedition attended by his friend Tibullus. lateness of the season made it expedient for him to take up his winter-quarters amongst them; and what may be considered as extraordinary is, that his very enemies supplied him for money with all the wood that was necessary both for firing and military engines, 5 of which articles he was in extreme want. As soon as the spring set in, he attacked them with great vigour, surrounded them with impregnable works; and soon compelled them, by famine, to sue for mercy. Some time afterwards Cæsar settled a favourite colony. chosen from his Prætorian guards, in this famous pass, which he called Augusta Pratoria, 6 and which has since been corrupted into that of Aost. For this signal service Messala was entitled to the honour of a triumph. which he declined. Cæsar was pleased with

⁵ This circumstance is noticed by Strabo, in his second book, in speaking of Decimus Brutus's march through this country.

⁶ Val d'Aosta.

his conduct, and seemed not insensible to the acquisition of such a valuable friend, which the author of the Court of Augustus thinks rather extraordinary, because, says he, "Messala was, in modern style, but an indifferent courtier." This opinion he grounds on the following circumstance. After Messala's return from the East, Cæsar appointed him first præfect of the city, 'an office which he accepted, and resigned at the end of a few days, from an idea that it was not legal and consistent

The care of the city seems to have been the peculiar

⁷ I do not find in what year Messala was appointed præfect of the city. Mr Mills, who has continued the Memoirs of the Court of Augustus, without noticing the appointment of Messala to this office when Mæcenas succeeded him, says, that Augustus, on going to the German war, in 736, named Messala præfect of the city, which he refused, and Statilius Taurus was chosen in his place. Had Messala refused this office before on account of its illegality, where was the necessity of tendering it to him a second time? The words of Tacitus are, "Primusque M. Corvinus eam potestatem et paucos intra dies finem accepit, quasi nescius exercendi." Tacitus says, Statilius Taurus, and not Mæcenas, succeeded Messala. The præfect had the power of banishing persons both from the city and from Italy, and of transporting them to any island which the emperor named (in Insulam deportandi.)

with the constitution of the city. It was an office which invested the person appointed to it with the whole executive authority within the city; it was revived under an old appellation, and bestowed on Messala, to render it less odious. On his resignation, the commission was made out for Mæcenas, which he accepted and discharged with great prudence and discretion. Messala's name, says Blackwell, had a growing virtue in it which sanctified the cause he espoused; and this, added to his character as a military officer, made his presence of considerable consequence in the day of necessity, reconciled the prince to his love of liberty, and made him anxious to secure his services in a contest which he foresaw must take place between Antony and him for the empire of the world. Cæsar effected his purpose, and Messala embarked warmly in his

department of Mæcenas, to which Horace frequently alludes:

Tu civitatem quis deceat status Curas, et urbi solicitus times. HORACE, b. iii. ode 29.

Horace says to Mæcenas,
Mitte civiles super urbe curas.

cause, which is an unquestionable proof he thought it then the best in the empire. Blackwell has an idea that at this time Casar's heart was beginning to soften, and that Messala, sensible of this change, became more interested in his fortunes. The same author relates the following anecdote as a reason for his adopting so favourable an opinion. Plutarch informs us, from the authority of some writers, that Brutus did not kill himself with his own hands, but that Strato, 8 one of his intimate friends, held the sword on which he fell. that ended his sorrows and life together. After this melancholy event. Strato put himself under the protection of Messala; and being a man of virtue and letters, having studied rhetoric with Brutus, he continued to hold the same respectable place in the friendship of Messala which he had done in that of Brutus.9 The virtues of Brutus were made a sub-

Messala. How died my lord,* Strato?

Strato. I held the sword, and he did run on it:

JULIUS CÆSAR.

⁹ Strato became so eminent, says Blackwell, that his effigies were engraved, and worn in rings, like those of

^{*} Brutus.

ject of commendation by Messala in the court of Augustus; and it is recorded by Plutarch. that, having one day obtained a private audience, he introduced Strato to Cæsar, and said, with tears, "This is the man who did the last kind office for my dear Brutus." I The heart of Cæsar was softened, he received the friend of Brutus with kindness, and gave him a considerable command at the battle of Actium, where he behaved in a manner not unworthy of the regard of Cæsar, or recommendation of Messala. From the year 718, in which the death of Pompey proved so fatal to the republic, to the year 722, almost every event tended in some way or other to destroy the harmony between the imperial rivals, and to bring matters to a final issue. During that interval we have no history extent which mentions the name of Messala. The awful period which preceded the battle of Actium was employed by Cæsar in making

JULIUS CASAR.

the most distinguished Romans. One of these, in a lapis Chalcedonius (a thoughtful mild figure,) was in the curious Collection of the late Baron Stosch.

⁴ Messala. Octavius, then take him to follow thee That did the latest service to my master.

every preparation for accomplishing the great object of his life and ambition; and in the prosecution of it he conducted himself with the utmost wisdom and policy. Antony's conduct was directly the reverse, and every measure he adopted seemed to be the result of folly and infatuation. The most superficial reader of the times knows that every step towards a cordial reconciliation proved abortive, and that the last appeal must be made to the sword. It is needless to enumerate the various circumstances which led to the important decision; all of them originated from the characters, fortunes, and situations of the two chiefs, and followed each other in natural order. The consuls marked out, at the peace of Misenum, for the year 722, were Cæsar and Antony. The latter's name was now rased out, and that of Messala substituted in He had taken a decided part in . its place. favour of Cæsar, and bore a command in the fleet at Actium. That he performed some service on that day is confirmed by an anecdote in the life of Brutus. In a conversation which Messala had with Cæsar after that celebrated engagement, the latter, among other things, praised his conduct on that occasion.

and observed, that his zeal in his service was peculiarly distinguished, considering how much it was the reverse at Philippi. Messala felt the praise, and, not insensible to the tacit rebuke, thus answered, "I have always taken the best and justest side." An universal peace followed the victory at Actium, and with it the death of Antony and Cleopatra: the temple of Janus was shut for the third time since the foundation of Rome; and Cæsar was honoured with an inscription, dated in his fifth consulship, in which he is styled "the Saviour of the Republic." Some inconsiderable disturbances, however, are said to have happened during his long reign, which were not of consequence enough to affect the general tranquillity, and which can only claim our attention when the name of Messala is found among them, to make them deserving of our notice.

Subsequent to the expiration of Messala's consulship, Tibullus composed his panegyric; the intimate connection which always subsisted between him and his friend and patron Messala, will, we trust, render a few circumstances in the poet's life not uninteresting, and make our apology for a short digression

from the subject of these Memoirs.* During the civil wars, Tibullus took an active part, and, at the battle of Philippi, fought under the standard of Brutus and the Commonwealth: after that unfortunate day, he left the army in The persuasions of his friend Messala could not induce him to take arms against those men, whom he had been taught from his youth to esteem as the assertors and vindicators of Roman liberty; and therefore he withdrew to his country-seat at Pedum. where he passed his time partly in repairing a broken fortune, and partly in cultivating philosophy and the muses, to whom he was all his life devoted. To poetry he was principally attached; and, as he was often in love, and often unsuccessful, the pitying Muse became his favourite mistress, whose tender strains have given posterity the truest idea of elegiac composition.³ The celebrated Gly-

² Dr Grainger's preface to his translation of Tibullus's Elegies.

³ His poems have been happily imitated by Mr Hammond; and, notwithstanding the unfeeling censure which has been passed upon the youth's tender elegies by a great and learned authority, they will, I am persuaded,

cera is supposed to have been the first object of his fond idolatry; and a disappointment in this his first passion is said to have been a primary motive for his attending Messala, as we have noticed, in his Gallic expedition in the year 718.

He thought the agitation and bustle of a military life, and a removal from a sight of the beloved object, would abate and dissipate his sorrow. He tried the experiment, and forgot Glycera; but his heart, which was formed of the very gentlest mould, soon discovered on his return an object which engaged all his tenderest affections, in the person of Delia. The consulship of Messala, in the year 722,

continue to be read and admired by every gentle mind, as the warm effusions of his own heart, improved and strengthened by the congenial feelings of another.

⁴ Horace is supposed to allude to this disappointment in the 33d Ode of his first Book, beginning with " Albi, ne doleas plus nimio &c."—

Cease, my Albius, to bewail;
Check, ah! check, love's plaintive tale:
Let thy elegies no more
Cruel Glycera deplore;
Glycera who, lost to truth,
Seeks a new, a brighter youth.
Boscawen's Horace.

succeeded this new passion; and it was on this occasion that Tibullus composed the panegyric I have before noticed; and, as it contains the most flattering praises of his patron, some account of it cannot be omitted. placed in the beginning of the fourth book of Tibullus's Elegies, and contains two hundred and eleven lines in praise of his illustrious Whilst some commentators hesitate. in ascribing this poem to Tibullus, others are: inclined to doubt its authenticity altogether; but Scaliger, though he censures it as inaccurate, careless, and destitute of vigour and harmony, thinks it notwithstanding original, and that it was left unfinished by our author. fully agree with the last learned commentator, and am of opinion, that the lines beginning with

" Pro te vel rapidas ausim," &c.

are truly expressive of the genuine feelings of our poet for his noble friend; and, impressed with that idea, I shall bring forward so much of it as may enlighten and unfold my subject.

—Tibullus, with great modesty, apologizes, in the opening of the poem, for his want of genius to render sufficient justice to Messala's

actions; and only reconciles to himself the boldness of the attempt, by saying it is the will, not the power, which constitutes the value of the gift in the judgment of the yirtuous. He slightly passes over the praise Messala might derive from the glories of a long line of ancestors, and says, that his fame, instead of being content with the unsubstantial lustre of transmitted honours, or with the cold inscription on the base of a lifeless statue, should be immortalized by the pens of poets and historians. "For who," exclaims the poet, " can equal him in the camp or forum? Who, like him, can quell the fury of the giddy multitude, or appease the anger of an incensed judge? His fame is not inferior to that of the sage of Pylos, nor his eloquence to that of the wise Ulysses? Who in war is so conversant with its various discipline and tactics? Who knows so well how to surround his camp with a deep ditch, and secure it with strong pallisadoes? Who throws with so much skill the unwieldy rudis, or shoots with truer aim the swift-flying arrow; or breaks, like him, opposing ranks with the ponderous javelin? Who can curb with such judgment the fiery steed? Who can so well

defend himself with his shield from the random shots of the impetuous spear; or whirl with such dexterity the whizzing sling?-When the battle burns, who displays such knowledge in presenting the best countenance to the enemy; or such presence of mind in seizing the critical moment of victory?—But lest posterity might interpret this praise into mere poetic declamation, I celebrate," says Tibullus, "what my own experience justifies; the brave soldier of Japidia, and the rebellious Pannonians scattered amidst the cold Alps. can witness it. The old soldier of Aruninum, and the peasant nursed up in arms, can testify it," &c. The poet is here supposed to allude to his expedition with Messala, in the year 718, against the Salassi, who were the only people of the Alps that history tells us were subdued by Messala that year, and for which, we have observed, he refused a triumph. Our author, after paying Messala's military talents every compliment, and viewing his exploits in the most flattering light, exclaims, that Nature and Jove himself bowed to him in his consulate; and then closes his panegyric with the warmest feelings of the friend as well as of the poet. "For you,

Messala, I should brave the rapid ocean, though disturbed by every wind: For you I should rush into the thickest ranks of the enemy, or fling myself into the hottest flames of Ætna."

"Sum quodeunque tuum est." When Tibullus laments his own inability to describe Messala's actions according to their merit, he introduces to our acquaintance a poet whose genius and virtues entitled him to the friendship and esteem of Messala and Horace. This was Valgius Rufus, whom Tibullus considered little inferior to Homer; but whose works are now unfortunately lost.

"But Valgius he can swell a warrior's name, Valgius next Homer in eternal fame."

We learn from Horace that Valgius excel-

Dart's translation—

[&]quot;Est tibi qui possit magnis se accingere rebus Valgius, æterno propior non alter Homero." Angelo Poliziano has alluded to this character of Valgius in one of his latin poems:

[&]quot;Et qui Smyrnæis poterat contendere plectris Valgius, ut tersi memorat pia Musa Tibulli." —Hor. B. ii. ode 9.

[&]quot;Tu semper urges flebilibus modis Mysten ademptum."

led in elegiac composition; and that he made the death of an amiable son the subject of some of his plaintive strains. Horace addressed to him a heautiful ode on the occa-The grief the father suffered for the loss of such a son must have been considerably alleviated by the correspondent feelings of such a friend as Horace: for where two minds meet of congenial sentiments, they seldom fail in soothing, dilating, and lessening each other's sorrow. After the expiration of Messala's comsulship, we are at a loss both as to the time of his next expedition, and the particular circumstances under which he was employed in it. The commentators are of opinion, that Augustus soon appointed him to an extraordinary command in Syria, which we find he accepted of; and that Tibullus consented to go with him, notwithstanding the sighs and tears of Delia, with whom he was then violently in love. He embarked with Messala for Syria; but before they had been long at sea, he was taken so ill that Messala was obliged to leave him at Phæacia,



² All could not dry my tender Delia's tears, Suppress her sighs, or calm her anxious fears." GRAINGER.

and proceed without him on his voyage. Fortunately for our poet he was now on fairry ground; and Homer and Ulysses, and the palace and gardens of king Alcinous, must have for ever been before his eyes. In this celebrated isle, where the divine Demodocus strung his golden lyre, Tibulius composed the third elegy of his first book, which is remarkable for its simplicity and beauty. How

TIB. lib. i. ode S.

³ Ibitis Ægeas sine me, Messala, per undas, O utinam memores ipse, cohorsque • mei. Me tenet ignotis agrum Pheacia terris.

^{*} Such visions, one might have supposed to have been ever present to his imagination; and yet, from the beginning of the elegy to the end of it, there is not a reference to its history as given by Homer. His description of the Golden age, beginning with

[&]quot; Quam bene Saturno vivebant rege, priusquam Tellus in longas est patefacta vias," &c.

has not been surpassed by any poet either ancient or modern.

[•] The cohors mentioned in the text was Messala's retinue, says Dr Grainger, which, if made up of such men as Tibullus, must, he adds, have been very different from that of modern generals. But in those days a man was thought the better soldier for cultivating an acquaintance with the muses.—Tempora mutantur.

[&]quot; Si tibi sancta cohors comitum," says Juvenal.

long his illness confined him here we are not told; but as soon as his health permitted, it is known he renewed his voyage, and joined Messala in the East. No satisfactory account remains of this eastern expedition, either as declarative of its causes or consequences. Tibullus, in the eighth elegy of his first book, (a poem which Dr Grainger thinks is entitled to a nobler appellation than that of elegy), expressly alludes to his patron's conduct on it in the following poetic raptures; "Shall I," says he, " record his transactions near the silent waters of the Cydnus, the lofty summits of Taurus, the high towers of Tyre, or the fertilizing streams of the Nile?" From this language, however poetical, it is clear Messala was engaged in some service of consequence whilst he commanded in the East. He could not have remained long there; for we find him, in the following year, 726, appointed proconsul by Augustus, to quell a rebellion which had broken out in the province of Aquitania. The account given by Tibullus of this expedition is also in the suspicious language of poetry and panegyric. But, as our author served under Messala, and published his relation of the conquest a short

time after the event, we can entertain no suspicion of the fact, especially when we find it confirmed by a triumph recorded at this day on the Capitoline Marbles. 5 In the same poem on Messala's birth-day, which has been just noticed, the Fatal Sisters are introduced predestinating Messala to the conquest of Aguitania, when the Atur 6 should tremble at his hostile bands. Upon which the poet suddenly exclaims, "The event is past," and the Roman youth hath seen the pomp and glory of his triumph in all the splendid circumstances of captive generals' victorious laurels, ivory chariots and white horses." Here Tibullus, with a natural but pardonable vanity, adds.

" Non sine me est tibi partus honor."

⁵ MARMORA CAPITOLINA—M. VALERIUS M. F. M. N.

MESSALA A. $\frac{726}{727}$ — VARRO —

CORVINUS PRO. COS. EX GALLIA. —

7 KAL. OCT.

⁶ Atur, vel Aturus, vel Aturis, a river of Gaul which runs into the Bay of Biscay; now called the Adour.

Evenere—novos pubes Romana triumphos,
 Vidit—et evinctos brachia capta duces.
 Tib. lib. i. ep. 8.

"I also have had a share in the honour: Tarbella Pyrene, and the shores of the Santonie's sea, know it: the Azar, the impetuous Rhone, the mighty Garumna, and the blue streams of the Liger, can bear witness to what I say."—Besides the proofs already adduced of Messala's triumph, we have an unerring testimony from a silver medal which Mons. Vaillant gives in a treatise which he has written on the Nummi Antiqui of Roman families. In his account of the Valerian family, he presents us with a Nummus Argenteus, which bears on one side the name of Corvinus, with a head of Jupiter Capitolinus wreathed with laurel, to whom Messala offered sacrifice after his tri-

³ Tarbelli, a people of Aquitania between the Pyrenees and the Garonne; from them the Pyrenean mountain is called Tarbella Pyrene.

⁹ Santonicus Oceanus, that part of the Mare Aquitanicum, or Bay of Biscay, between the mouth of the Liger and of the Garumna.

Arar, the Soane, a river so slow, that Cæsar says it cannot be discerned which way it moves.

² Rhodanus, Rhone.

³ Garumna, Garonne.

⁴ Liger, Loire,

⁵ Mons. Vaillant, vol. ii. p. 516, &c. Amsterdam, 1703.

amph: and on the reverse M. Messala in a triumphal car, drawn by four horses, in which Jupiter is placed, holding in his hand the thunder, sceptre, and reins, to whose aid the proconsul attributed the victory. Part of the spoils which Messala reaped from his Gallic campaign were expended in making a public road; the example of Caesar had made it fashionable; for he not only repaired the Via Flaminia himself, but imposed a similar task on many of the more opulent senators. Tibullus closes the poem on Messala's birthday in making an allusion to this public road; the passage shall be cited:- "May thy posterity, Messala, increase, and add a lustre to the actions of their sire, and be a consolation to him in his old age. Thy own road,6 which leads from Tusculum to Alba, shall be a monument of thy fame. Thy praises shall be sung by the husbandman, whilst he is plod-

⁶ The way which fell to the share of Messala was a branch of the *Latin Road*, which that excellent Roman either paved a-new, or repaired; for from the situation of Tusculum and Alba, says Dr Grainger, it could not be the *Via Valeria*, as Pighius conjectured.

[&]quot; Nec taceant monumenta viæ, quem Tuscula tellus, Candida quem antiquo detinet alba lare."

ding home his way late at night from the great city. But may thy birth-day, Messala, be long the subject of my muse, and grow more and more propitious to my song." We find that in every service in which Messala was employed, he gained new honours; and the strength and durability even of his public way, appears from an allusion made by Martial,7 when he speaks of the perpetuity of the fame to which he thought himself entitled. who says, "that he hoped his works would be read when Messala's road lay in ruins." As Messala's Gallic campaign, in the year 726, terminated his military career, and the triumph he obtained in 727 filled up the measure of his military honours, we cannot help regretting that his name is scarcely once mentioned after this period by any writer who was a contemporary, or had a respectable character. He was now in the very meridian of his reputation; and the several degrees by which he ascended to such an envied height of ex-

Lib, x. ep. 2.

Et cum rupta situ Messallæ saxa jacebunt. MARTIAL, lib. viii. ep. 3. Marmora Messalæ findit caprificus.

altation, appear to have been most correct, and generally allowed to have all originated from the most virtuous motives. Messala³ had the singular merit of supporting an unblemished character in a most despotic court, without making a sacrifice of those principles which he fought for in the fields of Philippi; and the genuine integrity of his character was so deeply impressed on all parties, that it attracted a general admiration in a most corrupt age. He was brave, eloquent, and virtuous: He was liberal, attached to letters,

⁸ The fame of Messala, says the historian of the Roman empire, has been scarcely equal to his merit. In the earliest youth he was recommended by Cicero to the friendship of Brutus. He followed the standard of the Republic till it was broken in the fields of Philippi: he then accepted and deserved the favour of the most moderate of the conquerors; and uniformly asserted his freedom and dignity in the court of Augustus. The triumph of Messala was justified by the conquest of Aquitain. As an orator he disputed the palm of eloquence with Cicero himself. Messala cultivated every muse. and was the patron of every man of genius. He spent his evenings in philosophic conversation with Horace; assumed his place at table between Delia and Tibullus. and amused his leisure by encouraging the poetical talents of young Ovid.—GIBBON'S Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

and his patronage was considered as " the surest passport to the gates of fame," and extended to every man who was at all conversent with letters. This character is supported by history, is not contradicted by contemporary writers, and is sealed by the impartial judgment of posterity. No writer either ancient or modern has ever named Messala without some tribute of praise. Cicero soon perceived he possessed an assemblage of excellent qualities, which he would have more admired had he lived to see them expanded and matured to perfection. Messala was his disciple, and rivalled his master in eloquence. In the opinion of the judicious Quintilian, 9 his style was neat and elegant; and in all his speeches he displayed a superior nobility. In the Dialogue of Orators," he is said to have excelled Cicero in the sweetness and correct-

^{9.} Messala nitidus, et candidus, et quodammodo præ seferens in dicendo nobilitatem suum.——QUINTILIAN, lib. x. c. 1. In another part of his writings, Quintilian commends the dignity of Messala, to whom he assigns an eloquence equal to his nobility.

Cicerone mitior Corvinus, et dulcior, et in verbis magis elaboratus.—Dialogue of the Orators, at the end of Tacitus, c. 18.

ness of his style. His taste for poetry and polite literature will admit of little doubt. when we call to mind that he was protected by Cæsar, favoured by Mæcenas, esteemed by Horace, and loved by Tibullus. Horace,* in one of his beautiful odes, praises Messala in the happiest strains of poetry, calls the day he intended to pass with him propitious, and promises to treat him with some of his most excellent wine. "For," says the poet," though Messala is conversant with all the philosophy of Socrates and the academy, he will not decline such entertainment as my humble board can supply." The modest Tibullus flattered himself with the pleasing hopes of Messala's paying him a visit in the coun-

² Book III. Ode 21. "O nata mecum consule Manlio," &c.—This elegant performance, says Sir Edward Barry, in his Lives of the Ancients, is inscribed by Horace to his illustrious friend as a perpetual monument of his esteem and affection, which must have given him a superior delight to what he could have received from the most exquisite wine:

[&]quot;Descende, Corvino jubente Promere languidiora vina."

try, 3 "Where," says he, "my beloved Delia shall assist in doing the honours for so noble a guest." The rising genius of Ovid was admired and encouraged by Messala; and this condescension the exiled bard has acknowledged in an epistle to his son Messalinus, dated from the cold shores of the Euxine. In this letter Ovid calls Messala his friend, the light and director of all his literary pursuits. It is natural to suppose an intimacy subsisted between Messala and Virgil, and yet no historical circumstance has come to our knowledge sufficient to evince it. The

Stanhope * shall come and grace his rural friend,
Delia shall wonder at her noble guest,
With blushing awe the riper fruit commend,
And for her husband's patron cull the best.

HAMMOND.

Hoc pater ille tuus, primo mihi cultus ab avo. Si quid habet sensus umbra diserta, petit.

At the time this epistle was written Messala was no more.

³ Huc veniet Messala meus, cui dulcia poma Delia selectis detrahet arboribus.—TIBULLUS, b. i. eleg. 5.

Ovid, in his Epistle to Messalinus, the son of Messala, acknowledges this encouragement:

[•] Lord Chesterfield.

poem called Ciris, 5 which is dedicated to Messala, and has been ascribed to Virgil by some grave authorities, grows more suspicious every day. Tacitus, whose judgment of mankind is indisputable, and whose decision is not always in the most favourable point of view, seems fond of praising Messala; and, in a speech given to Silius, the consul-elect, he considers him among the few great characters who have risen to the highest honours by their integrity and eloquence.6 Even Tiberius himself, when a youth, took him for his master and pattern in speaking;7 and happy would it have been for the Roman people had he also taken him for his guide

⁵ Opusculum hoc (Ciris) Virgilius ad Messalam dirigit qui Augusti tempore, magnis in rebus et præsertim militaribus exercebatur: eratque præterea orator non indignus, et poeta. Cupiebat igitur Maro, benevolentissimum illum sibi efficere: quumque nonnulla ad Mæcenatem et Octavium scripsisset, Cyrim ad ipsum Messalam direxit, in quo libro ostendit famæ atque gloriæ gratia, semper se fuisse accensum: librosque Græcos, non solum poeticos, verumetiam philosophicos, evolvisse.

⁶ Ad summa provectos incorruptâ vita et facundia.— TACITUS' Ann. lib. xi. c. 6.

⁷ In oratione latina secutus est Tiberius Corvinum Messalam, quem senem adolescens observaverat.—Surtonius VITA TIB. c. 70.

and pattern in virtue. Cremutius Cordus, so who fell a victim in the reign of this same Tiberius, to his attachment to republican principles, and his love for the two last friends of liberty, takes an occasion before his death of justifying his conduct by the examples of Asinius Pollio and Messala, who, he says, both increased in riches and honours, notwithstanding their regard for the ancient constitution. Messala, it is well known, made eloquence his chief study; and though we have

⁸ Cremutius Cordus was put to death, and his writings suppressed, though they had been read to Augustus, and approved by that emperor. Seneca addresses his Essay on Consolation to his daughter Marcia.

⁹ Uterque opibusque atque honoribus perviguere.

TACITUS' Ann. lib. iv. c. 34.

Quintilian says, Cicero recommended the practice of translating Greek into Latin, and his example was followed by Messala, who composed many orations in this manner, particularly that for Phryne from Hyperides, in which he vies with his original even in delicacy (subtilitate), a quality so hard to be attained to by the Latin tongue.—Book x. c. 5. Quintilian says, Pollio and Messala began to plead when Cioero was at the very summit of eloquence, and then asks, had they not great dignity in life? And are not their names now glorious, though they are dead?—B. xii. c. 11. It appears from the Dialogue de Oratoribus, that Messala began most of his orations with complaints of his ill health.—C. 20. Consultus juris et actor.

no remaining specimen by which to judge of him as an orator, yet no doubt can rest on the mind of posterity as to his being possessed of superior excellence in speaking. Besides the opinions of Cicero and Quintilian, the two unerring judges of taste, in his favour, we may add those of Horace' and the two Senecas.3 The poet ranks him in the first class of orators: Seneca, the father, considers him. as the purest writer of the age, and his son, the philosopher, as the most eloquent. simple recital of his names, Marcus Valerius Messala Corvinus, is sufficient to declare the antiquity and nobility of his family.4 The wise laws enacted by the patriotic Publius Valerius Poplicola, in the year of Rome 244; the success which Marcus Valerius had in a single combat with a Gaul of gigantic stature in the year 404, by the assistance of a raven called Corous; and the capture of Messana, under the conduct of Valerius Flaccus the

² Causarum mediocris abest virtute diserti Messalæ. Horace, de Arte Poetica, 369.

³ Seneca, in his treatise De Morte Claudii Cæsaris, calls him dissertissimus vir.

^{. 4} Hook's Roman History, 4to, vol. i. p. 136.

consul, are known to the most superficial readers of Roman history. The two last circumstances gave to the Valerian family the honourable names of Corvinus and Messala. Aulus Gelliuss tells us, that Augustus confirmed Livy's story of the raven, by erecting a statue in honour of Messala, with a figure of the bird placed on the top, as a monument of the truth of the fact and battle. Seneca6 and Macrobius 7 both agree in deriving the name of Messala from the taking of Messana, in Sicily. Horace, in the sixth satire of his first book, wherein his good sense has established the rational grounds of true nobility, 8 considers Messala's family as among the most illustrious. From the earliest period of Rome, the Valerian family possessed and adorned the highest honours of the state.

⁵ Aulus Gellius. See his Noctes Atticæ, lib. ix. c. 11. Livy, lib. 7. c. 26.

⁶ Seneca de Brevitate Vitæ.

⁷ Macrobius de Saturnal. lib. i. c. 6.

⁸ At Novius Collega gradu post me sedet uno;
Namque est ille, pater quod erat meus. Hoc tibi
Paulus

Et Messala videris?—Two of the most illustrious families in Rome.

Quis fructus generis tabula jactare capaci Corvinum, &c.—JUVENAL. Sat. 8.

A custom 9 prevailed among the Romans of embellishing the porticoes of their houses with the images of their ancestors, ranged according to order; and under each image they placed a scroll, which served to record their great actions, &c. In the early and more virtuous days of Rome, these images were made of wood, and afterwards of wax: they were never produced except in public funeral processions. Their situation in the entrance of every house, served as a passing voice to posterity to awaken them to an imitation of the virtues of their ancestors. What spirited, well-educated youth could continually pass and repass through a long line of noble ancestry, and not feel some sparks of laudable ambition kindling in his soul, to emulate their glorious deeds, and to live after death in com-

⁹ Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. xxxv. c. 2.

Tota licet veteres exornent undique ceræ
Atria, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.

JUVENAL. Sat. 8.

Images and likenesses of ancestors were made in wax, and set up as ornaments and memorials of the great persons from whom they were taken; but, as Juvenal says, without virtue were nothing worth.

munion with such heroic sires. The adoption of this custom in our own country, and virtue made the genuine test of true nobility and title to honour, might be attended with the best effects. Messala seems to have been impressed with this noble feeling; for when he perceived that an image of one of the Levini, a branch of the Valerian family, had obtained an unmerited place, as he thought, among his ancestors, he ordered it to be taken away, lest his pedigree should be dishonoured. The indignation he felt at finding that the Salutian family had crept into that

² Nobility in the beginning was not given to the succession of blood, but to the succession of virtue. " Hinc dictus nobilis, quasi virtute præ aliis notabilis."

[&]quot; For true nobility standeth in the trade

[&]quot; Of virtuous life, not in the fleshly line:

[&]quot; For blood is brute, but gentry is divine."

³ Extat Messalæ Oratoris indignatio, qua prohibuit inseri genti suæ Levinorum alienam imaginem.—PLINY. If any one, who had an image of himself, were convicted of a grievous crime, his image was to be broken to pieces, and his name erased from the kalendar, either by the sentence of the judge, or by the fury of the people.

⁴ Similis causa Messalæ seni expressit volumina illa, quæ de familiis condidit, cum Scipionis Africani transis-

of the Scipios, by testamentary adoption, was so lively, that he composed, at a very advanced time of life, his Treatise on Genealogies. Pliny the elder, who mentions these two last circumstances, makes a distinction between Messala, whom he calls the Orator, and the Messala who wrote the genealogical dissertation: but I conceive, with the greatest deference for the learned historian, that the distinction is made without a difference. There are several writings ascribed to Messala, of which one is a discourse on the letter S,5 and another a treatise which he composed on the subject of the Auspices; but Macrobius says this latter was written by Marcus Messala, who was consul in the year 700. The dissertation addressed to Octavianus Augustus,

set atrium, vidissetque adoptione testamentaria Salutionis (hoc enim ei fuerat cognomen) Africanorum dedecore notam irrepentem Scipionum nomini.

⁵ Quintilian asks, " Is the genius of Messala less brilliant because he wrote so many books, not only upon single words, but single letters?" " Studies of this kind (adds the same writer) never obstruct those who take them in their passage, but those who dwell upon them."—B. i. c. 4.

⁶ Macrobius, lib. i. c. 16.

De progenie sua, 7 and said to have been composed by Messala, is considered by Barthius and other critics to be spurious. However, whatever literary tracts might have been written by Messala are all unfortunately lost, together with his Memoirs of the Battle of Philippi, to which Plutarch refers, as existing in his time.

We noticed heretofore, that Messala's triumph, in 727, closed his military career, and, we add with sorrow, almost his life; for though he lived to the middle of Augustus's long reign,³ his name is rarely mentioned afterwards by any contemporary historian.

⁷ It first made its appearance, in the year 1540, at Mayence, under the inspection of M. Jacques Bedrote; was translated into Italian by Geo. Vinc. Belprato, about the year 1549; and has since been published in England along with the works of Eutropius.

Il n'est pas difficile de connoitre qu'il n'est digne ni de l'esprit de Messala, ni de la Latinite du Siecle d'Auguste.—MORERI.

⁸ Nam Corvinus in medium usque Augusti principatum duravit.—TACITUS, Dialogus de Orator.

Augustus was born in the year of Rome 691, and died in 767, aged 76. He became emperor in 724, and reigned 44 years; so that, according to this calculation, Messala lived to the year 746.

When the unfortunate Ovid was relegated to Tomi, about the year 760, (relegated was the mild expression used by Augustus to denominate his cruel exile to a barbarous land,) Messala was no more; and in the Epistle to which we have alluded before, as written by the poet to Messalinus, we therein discover his tears and regret for the melancholy event. Whether the title of Father of his Country was conferred on Cæsar by Messala Corvinus, or Marcus Valerius Messala Barbatus, is doubtful. Suetonius, in his life of that emperor, has neither distinguished the Messala,

Arva relegatum jussisti visere Ponti

⁹ Relegatio, a species of banishment, in which the place of the condemned person was pointed out, but the deprivation of rights and loss of fortune were not understood to be the consequence.

[&]quot;Ira quidem moderata tua est, vitamque dedisti:
Nec mihi jus civis, nec mihi nomen abest.
Nec mea concessa est aliis fortuna, nec exul
Edicti verbis nominor ipse tui.
Omniaque hæc timui, quoniam meruisse videbar;
Sed tua peccato lenior ira meo est.

Et Scythicum profuga scindere puppe fretum."
Such are the expressions in which Ovid describes this kind of banishment in one of his mournful, but unmanlv elegies on the shores of the Euxine.

nor marked the year; and this omission has left open a wide field for conjectures, which we shall leave to be filled up with the elaborate comments of such names as Panvinius, Rupertus, &c. If this godlike distinction was conferred on Augustus by the subject of these Memoirs in full senate, we need not be surprised at the master of the Roman world bursting into tears. We learn from Eusebius, that Messala was deprived of both sense and memory two years before his death, and that he grew at last incapable of putting two words together with meaning; which miserable state Pliny confirms, by saying that

² Suetonius Vita Augusti. c. 58.

[&]quot;With hearty wishes for the happiness of yourself and your family, Cæsar Augustus, (for so we think we most effectually pray for the public welfare,) the senate, in conjunction with the people, salute you by the title of Father of your Country. To this compliment Augustus, with tears in his eyes, replied in these words, (for I put them down exactly, says Suetonius, as I have done those of Messala), Having now obtained the utmost of my wishes, O Conscript Fathers, what else have I to beg of the immortal gods, but the continuance of this your affection for me to the last moments of my life."

² Eusebii Chronicon.

³ Sui vero nominis Messala Corvinus cepit oblivionem.—PLINY, lib. 7, c. 24.

It is said, on the authority of Petrus Crinitus, a Latin

he forgot his own name. This condition, so humilisting to human nature, though it has never been satisfactorily solved, may afford a useful lesson to mankind, and teach them not to be too proud of their so much boasted reason, when they call to mind the lamentable end of a Swift, a Marlborough, a Somers, or a Messala. Though the Valerian family was one of the most distinguished in Rome, history has left us in great doubt and uncertainty concerning that particular branch of it. from which Messala Corvinus was descended. It is a matter not yet clearly ascertained, whether his father was Marcus Valerius Messala. surnamed Niger, or Marcus Valerius Messala, who was consul in the year 700.4 Cicero speaks of the first in warm terms of approbation, and of the latter in a letter to his brother Quintus. His mother's name is said to

writer of the fourteenth century, that Messala starved himself in consequence of what he suffered from ulcers in his mouth. His words are, "Tandem vero ulceri ori innato seipsum inedia confecit,"

Swift, before he died, suffered severely from boils, which broke out on several parts of his body.

⁴ Messala consul est egregius, fortis, constans, diligens, nostri laudator, amator, imitator.—Epist. ad Atticum, 15. lib. 1. Epist. ad Quintum, 8. lib. 3.

have been Paula, 5 a lady of the Æmilian family, and of an amiable character, who, after the death of her husband, married Lucius Gellius Poplicola, a man of distinguished eminence, by whom she had a son called Publius Gellius Cotta Publicola, whose name merits a place in these Memoirs from the consideration of his near alliance to Messala: from Horace having mentioned his name along with his brother's, as a judge of letters; and from his having had the honour to be appointed consul, in the year 717: but in all other points of view, he was a disgrace to the Valerian family, and very unworthy of such a brother as is the subject of these Memoirs. his youth he was accused of intriguing with his mother-in-law,6 and of having conspired against his father's life: and though tried and acquitted by his parents and judges, his subsequent conduct has given us reason to doubt of the equity of their decision; for it is said that he plotted against the lives of Bru-

⁵ Blackwell, 2d vol. p. 107, &c.

⁶ If it were so, says Blackwell, the Consul and Censor, Lucius Gellius, must have divorced Paula or Polla, and married a young wife.

tus and Cassius whilst under their command: and had not the character of his brother been held in such high estimation by them both, he might have probably paid the deserved forfeit of his crimes. We are left quite in the dark as to the time in which Messala was born. married, or died; but history is not to be blamed for such omissions, its object being incompatible with the attentive investigation of the lives of individuals, however virtuous, if unconnected with public events: this humble task is left to the writers of memoirs, lives, &c., whose duty imperiously calls on them to enter into the characters and anecdotes of private families, and to record those minute but interesting circumstances of domestic life. which are looked on either as beneath the dignity, or wide of the limits of general history. Writers of this description abounded in the age before us, for the prince himself set the example, 7 and it was followed by Mæce-

⁷ Blackwell, vol. i. p. 2.

Of the works ascribed to Mæcenas not one has escaped the waste of time; the names of some of them which survive are, the Tragedy of Octavia, the Life of Augustus, a Natural History of Animals, &c.

nas, Pollio,³ Agrippa,⁹ and Dellius,¹ whose writings, had they survived the ravages of time, might have thrown great light on the present subject, and supplied, in some measure, the lamented chasm in Livy's History.

²For want of the materials which might have been afforded us by the above writers, we are obliged to have recourse to St Jerome,³ a Christian father of the fourth century, to tell us that Messala married Terentia, Cicero's widow, and had by her two sons, Marcus and Lucius, and one daughter, called Valeria. His sons were both raised to the consulship,

⁸ Pollio wrote the *History of the Civil Wars*, and some tragedies, all of which are lost.

⁹ Agrippa, it is said, wrote his own Life, which is lost.

¹ Quintus Dellius, whom Plutarch calls the historian. He accompanied Antony into Parthia, and wrote the History of that Empedition. Messala calls him Desultor-bellorum Civilium; for he passed from Dolabella to Cassius, from Cassius to Antony, and from Antony to Octavius.

² Preface to Grainger's Tibullus.

^{3 &}quot;Illa conjux egregia, et quæ de fontibus Tullianis hauserit sapientiam, nupsit Sallustio inimico ejus, et tertio Messalæ Corvino, et quasi per quosdam gradus eloquentiæ devoluta est."—Hieronymus contra Jovianum.

and proved themselves not unworthy of the Valerian family, whose reputation was so high in the reign of Nero, 4 that Messala's greatgrandson was made consul; and when the emperor learnt that his fortune was not equal to support his rank, he gave him a pension sufficient to maintain the dignity of his house.5 Messala's eldest son inherited a great share of his father's eloquence; and when he was appointed, at a very early age, a member of the Quindecimviral College, Tibullus composed a beautiful elegy, wherein he invokes Phœbus to aid him in celebrating the praises of Messalinus the new pontiff; and this poem he concludes with describing his father's exultation, when he should see his son pass before him in the long procession of a triumph.

⁴ Tacitus, Ann. lib. xiii. c. 34.

Mox Valerius Messalinus, cui parens Messala, ineratque imago paternæ facundiæ, respondit.—TACITUS, lib. iii. c. 34. Ovid, in his epistle to Messalinus, says,

Vivit enim in vobis facundi lingua parentis, Et res hæredem repperit illa suum.

⁶ Tibullus, lib. ii. eleg. 5.

⁷ Tum Messala meus pia det spectacula turbæ, Et plaudat curru prætereunte pater.

Ovids calls him the light of the Muses, and defence of the Forum; but from the manner in which the poet expresses himself, it may be a question whether the poet means Marcus the eldest, who was consul in the year 750, or Lucius the youngest, who was adopted into the Aurelian family, and took the name of Lucius Cotta Messalinus, and was consul in the year 757. His daughter Valeria, we are told, married into the Statilian family, and her husband took the name of Statilius Corvinus. As Terentia has been mentioned. it is impossible to dismiss her without taking notice of some very singular circumstances in her life and fortune. It is a matter which admits of no doubt, that Cicero lived with her above thirty years; that he had by her two children, who were extremely dear to him; and that he did not put her away till he was in the sixty-first year of his age. Her imperious disposition, and haughty temper, are assigned as the principal reasons of his taking a step which brought down upon him much

⁸ Pieridum lumen, præsidiumque fori.—OVID. de Ponto, lib. iv. eleg. 16.

⁹ See Middleton's Life of Cicero, vol. ii. p. 167, &c. and note. Dub. ed.

censure and ridicule; and which, it is to be apprehended, his precipitate marriage with the young and wealthy Publilia did not re-It is to be wished that the eloquent move. Jerome had informed us what time intervened between her divorce, which happened in the year 707, and her second nuptials with the historian Sallust, Cicero's great enemy; or how long she lived with him, or whether they had any children. This information was necessary to have been given, in order to ascertain her age at the time of her marriage with Messala, by whom, Jerome says, she had three children. Therefore, if we suppose her married to Cicero at the age of fourteen or fifteen, and that she lived but two or three years with Sallust, which is long enough, considering the historian's character, she must have been near fifty years of age before she gave her hand to Messala. When we consider his amiable character, we may suppose that she lived with him till his death; and if we could but imagine that her care and ten-

² Besides the reasons assigned in the text, he says himself that the embarrassed state of his private affairs made such a step almost absolutely necessary.

derness helped to sooth and comfort the last helpless days of that great man's life, we should gladly draw a veil over her many failings, and her fourth and last marriage with Vibius Rufus, who, Dion Cassius says, was consul in the reign of Tiberius, and who used to boast that he was possessed of two most valuable relics, which were the wife of Cicero, and the chair' in which Cæsar was killed. Pliny's and Valerius Maximus say, that this venerable matron lived to the advanced age of a hundred and three; and surely, if her memory and understanding survived, she must have been a most agreeable and entertaining companion. To be born in the most enlightened period of Rome's grandeur, when the whole known world submitted to its sway, to be the witness of such astonishing revolutions in men and manners; to be married successively to the first orator, the first historian, and the most

² διφεος επιχευσος Sella curulis aurata—sedes aurea, in which, by a decree of the senate, Cæsar sat in the senate-house.

³ Terentia Ciceronis, CIII annos excessit.—PLINY, lib. vii. c. 48.

⁴ Valerius Maximus, lib. viii. c. xiii.

accomplished citizen of the age in which she lived, and to outlive the most important century in the annals of mankind, form such an assemblage of splendid circumstances, as scarce can ever again fall to the lot of any mortal.—Having now brought together all the scattered rays of information* which history has preserved of the life of Messala, and which we must allow are so much to the honour of human nature, it is deeply to be regretted that it has been so frugal on the occasion. The task of the biographer would be

^{*} I cannot conclude these Memoirs, without expressing my grateful obligations to Mr Blackwell, the author of the Memoirs of the Court of Augustus, and his continuator, Mr Mills, for the great pains which they have used in collecting and arranging such an heterogeneous variety of historic and classical information, and for the great service which they have afforded me in the compilation of this little history. The style of the laborious Principal of Aberdeen is, it is true, very verbose and pompous; and his familiar phrases and allusions are often laughable; but the anxious desire he has displayed in making us not only familiar but intimate with the lives, the characters, and anecdotes of the day, must be very acceptable to all the curious in literature; besides the warmth of his zeal in the cause of civil liberty and virtue demands some acknowledgment from every friend to the British Constitution.

pleasant indeed, if his duty consisted only in the investigation and delineation of such-great and amiable characters. History then, instead of being the sad relation of the crimes and miseries of mankind, would be a perpetual theme of their virtues and felicity. character which Messala established in a most corrupt age, and the respect which was paid to it by the most opposite parties, holds out to all times the consequence of real, not affected patriotism, and teaches ministers and statesmen this lesson, which their conduct has made nearly obsolete, that a steady adherence to virtue is the surest and safest means of gaining all the ends which an honest man can propose to himself in the road of a laudable ambition. Messala lived long admired and esteemed,-he died full of years and glory; although unhappily, two years before his death, he forgot that name, which, for the sake of virtue and humanity, should never be consigned to oblivion.

THE LIFE

OF

TITUS POMPONIUS ATTICUS.

FROM THE LATIN OF CORNELIUS NEPOS.

PART SECOND..

THE LIFE

OF

TITUS POMPONIUS ATTICUS.

FROM THE LATIN OF CORNELIUS NEPOS.

Pomponius Attricus was descended from one of the most ancient families of Rome, and

Titus Pomponius'Atticus.—The Prœnomen Titus is omitted by Cornelius Nepos: it was properly personal, and probably that of his father or grandfather: Pomponius was the nomen, or name of the family, which was as old as the days of Numa Pompilius; and Atticus was the agnomen, added on account of his love of Athens, and his spending a great deal of his time there. It does not appear, says Melmoth, in a note to his Cato, upon what account he received the surname of Atticus. One of the commentators conjectures that it took its rise from his speaking the Greek language with all the correctness and propriety of a native Athenian. Perhaps

possessed the equestrian dignity, which had devolved to him from an uninterrupted line of ancestors. In his education he had the advantage of a father, who was not only zealous, but kind in his instructions; one who, according to the times in which he lived, was considered rich, and was besides particularly fond of literature. In proportion as he loved letters himself, he took care his son should

it was given to him as a designation of that singular elegance and politeness which distinguished every part of his accomplished character.

² The Equestrian Dignity, or that order of the Roman people which we commonly call knights, depending entirely upon a census, or valuation of their estates, which was usually made every five years by the Censors in their Lustrum, or general review of the whole people. At this time all those citizens, whose entire fortunes amounted to the sum of 400 sestertia, that is, about 32291, of our money, were enrolled of course in the list of Equites, or knights, who were considered as an intermediate order between the senators and the common people, and were allowed the following distinctions. such as "a horse given by the public, the Augustus Clavus, or Tunica Augusticlavia, and an allotted place at the public shews, according to the law of Roscius Otho:" but the principal privilege granted them was that of wearing a gold ring, as the peculiar bedge of the order.

be instructed in whatever learning³ was best adapted to his juvenile years. He had, whilst a boy, great sweetness of elocution and expression, added to such natural docility of disposition, as made him easily comprehend all that was taught him; and whatever he learned, he was capable of reciting in a superior manner: from which circumstance he was esteemed noble amongst his equals; and his character even then had such a decided brilliancy, as was not quite patiently relished by his school-fellows, who were descended from illustrious parents. The consequence was, that he incited, by his studious example, all his young contemporaries to emulate his acquirements; amongst

³ The learning then generally taught consisted of rhetoric, history, poetry, and sometimes mathematics. "Legimus epistolas Corneliæ Matris Gracchorum," says Cicero in his book, de Claris Oratoribus, from which it appears, adds he, that her children were not "tam in gremio educatos, quam in sermone matris."

⁴/Orig. clariusque explendescebat, quam generosi condiscipuli animo æquo ferre possent.

Pomponius was not generosus, because his father, and all his ancestors, were only equites, and never senatores, which could have entitled them to the honourable appellation of generosi.

whom were Lucius Torquatus, Caius Marius, the son of Caius, and Marcus Cicero, whom he so engaged by his habitual intimacy, that no man was dearer to them than he was. His father died early, and his son, though young at the time his relation Publius Sulpicius was slain, (whilst tribune of the people,) ran some risk on account of that con-

⁵ His name was Lucius Manlius Torquatus, who was consul two years before the consulship of Cicero.

⁶ This young man, who was the son of the famous Caius Marius, made himself consul in the 25th year of his age, almost twenty years before he was entitled to enjoy it; and put to death all the senators who opposed his ambitious views. He was defeated by Sylla, and fled to Præneste, where he killed himself.

⁷ Publius Sulpicius was connected with Atticus by a family alliance, the brother of the former having married Anicia, the cousin-german of the latter. Pompeius was consul, and Sulpicius tribune, in the year of Rome 665; at which time the opposite factions of Sylla and Marius occasioned great disturbances in the republic. Cicero, in his Lælius, mentions a quarrel which arose between them in consequence of their having taken different sides in those civil commotions; and we know from history, that each lost their lives in the sanguinary contests of the two destructive factions, before the expiration of their respective magistracies. Sulpicius was a man of great eloquence, and is introduced by Cicero as one of the speakers in his Complete Orator.

nection; for Anicia, his cousin-german, was married to Marcus Servius, the brother of Sulpicius. Finding, therefore, upon the death of Publius Sulpicius, that the city was much disturbed by the insurrection of Cinna, and that he could not live in it in a way becoming his dignity, without giving offence to either party, in the distracted state of men's minds; some favouring the side of Sylla, and others that of Cinna; finding, I say, things in this situation, and judging the opportunity favourable to a further prosecution of his literary pursuits, he withdrew to Athens: yet whilst

⁸ The different factions of Sylla and Cinna having, about the year 666, occasioned great and dangerous commotions in the state, Atticus, finding, if he continued in Rome, it would be impossible, from his family connections, to stand neuter, withdrew to Athens; that nobilissimum orbis Gymnasium, as Cicero emphatically calls it, which was filled with students from every quarter of the world, and to which kings, and the sons of kings, repaired. During his residence in that illustrious seminary of learning and the polite arts, says Melmoth, he employed himself in cultivating his mind under those great masters with which that celebrated city so eminently abounded. Athens was esteemed by the ancients the source, as it unquestionably was the seat, of all. those useful and polite arts, which most contribute to the ease and ornament of life.

there, although his mind was fixed upon preserving a strict neutrality, he assisted young Marius, who was declared a public enemy to his country, with his interest; and lightened the difficulties of his exile by money. That his living abroad might not be injurious to his domestic concerns, he conveyed a great part of his property9 to the place of his retirement, where he spent his time in such a manner as deservedly won the esteem of all the Athenians; for, independent of the credit he had acquired, which in so young a man must be allowed to have been considerable, he, upon many occasions, relieved the wants of the public from his private fortune. For when the government of Athens was under the necessity of resorting to a loan, and found it impracticable to raise the necessary sum upon equitable terms, he never failed interposing his assistance at such periods, and in a manner whereby he never received interest for his money, whilst he always enjoined payment at

⁹ He had no landed estates in Italy, except what he had at Ardea and Nomentum; all the remainder of his property, which consisted of moveables, was removed to Athens.

the very period agreed upon. This mode of dealing was attended with two good effects; one was, that he never suffered their debt to grow upon them by too great forbearance; and the second was, that he did not let it increase by the addition of interest. This act of courtesy he enhanced by another of a more substantial nature; for he presented the city with a supply of corn, from which every man who required such aid, had to his share six modii of wheat; a modius being the kind

Cornelius Nepos, says the Abbe St Real, in his treatise on the character of Atticus, is so fond of praising this hero, that he even praises him for making the Athenians punctual in the payment of their debts: to which charge, I reply, that, had he not done so, there would have been no statues erected to his honour, when he left them; for punctuality is the soul of business, and the strong cement of friendship between man and man.

² In a letter from Cicero to Atticus, he says, "Sed heus, wyss us Inus Athenis? placet hoc tibi? etsi non impediebant mei certe libri: non enim ista largitio fuit in cives, sed in hospites liberalitas." The Abbe St Real is of opinion that Cicero thought Atticus's motive in this largess questionable: had the prejudiced Abbe formed this opinion from reading the first part of the passage, the latter part of it, I think, might have set him right: but it is omitted in his quotation.

³ Modius was the chief measure of dry goods, the third part of a cubic foot, somewhat more than a peck

of measure which was known at Athens by the name of medimnus. He conducted himself with so much address as to make it appear, that though he condescended to live on a level with the lowest of the citizens, he was at the same time equal to the highest.4 The result of such demeanour was, that they conferred on him all the honours they could, and endeavoured to make him free of their city. This mark of distinction he thought proper to decline, which some people conceived was done from an apprehension, that, had he accepted the rights and privileges of an alien state, he might have forfeited those of his own. As long as he remained in Athens, he opposed the design of erecting any statue to him; but after he had left it, he could not

English. Five modii of wheat used to be sown in an acre, and six modii made the Attic medimnus.

⁴ The like was his deportment at Rome, says Sir Matthew Hale in his life and death of Pomponius Atticus; and certainly this humility of mind, and freeness from all manner of pride, adds he, brought him very great advantage, for it kept him in a true estimate and judgment of things.

⁵ Duarum civitatum civis esse nostro jure civili nemo potest: non esse hujus civitatis civis, qui se alii civitati dicavit, potest:—CICERO pro Cæcina.

prevent that tribute being paid him. Therefore statues were raised to him in their most sacred places, the Pnyx and Pæcile.⁶

⁷ Throughout the entire management of their public concerns, the Athenians followed his advice, and were guided by his counsels. A particular instance of the partiality of fate attached to his fortune, namely, that of having been born in a city superior to every other, wherein was the seat of empire of the whole world, a city peculiarly his own by being

⁶ The readings of this passage are different in different editions. In one it is, "Itaque aliquot ipsi et Pilize locis sanctissimis posuerunt;" in another it is. "Itaque aliquot in Pnyce et Pæcile, locis sanctissimis posuerunt." The first is condemned by Bayle, who says, that Pilia is not to be found in any good edition of Cornelius Nepos; for Atticus's marriage, adds he, not taking place till long after his return from Athens, it is not to be supposed that the Athenians should then think of erecting statues to his wife; nor is it very probable that Cornelius Nepos should notice the circumstance of their erecting statues to Pilia, without telling us who Pilia I don't find the family of Pilia once mentioned with any particular distinction in the Roman History. There is a Quintus Pilius mentioned by Cicero, who might probably have been of her family. In some editions the reading is ipsi et Phidia.

⁷ This sentence connects with the former, as a reason for the statue.

equally the place of his birth, and that of his residence. A second instance of favour, which must be ascribed solely to his own wisdom and prudence, was, that when he had for a time retired to a city that excelled all others in antiquity, a urbanity, and learning, his conduct was such as to endear him to it above all other men. When Sylla was returning from Asia, he halted for some time in Athens; and during his stay there, was scarcely ever out of the company of Pomponius, with whose politeness and literature he was extremely

⁸ Hence their appellation of Aproxious, produced from the same earth which they inhabited.

⁹ Their urbanity was manifested in their civility to strangers, and by their erecting an altar to Mercy.

Their learning was known to all the world; hence the honourable appellations of the Eradition of Greece, the School of all Men, the Seat of the Wise, the Greece of Greece, the Prop of Greece, the Soul, and the Sun, and the Eye of Greece.—See the Panegyric of Athens, in Isocrates.

Ita enim se Athenis collocavit, ut sit pæne unus ex -Atticis, et id etiam cognomine videatur habiturus.—CI-CERO de finibus.

³ Sylla was a lover and patron of polite letters, having been carefully instituted himself in all the learning of Greece and Rome.—SALLUST.

captivated: for he spoke Greek with the fluency of a native, and had added to this, in his manner of speaking the Latin language. such a peculiar sweetness of expression, as proved that he was possessed of that appropriate grace, which is acknowledged to be innate and not acquired. Besides which, nothing could exceed his elegance in reciting Greek and Latin verses. These were the accomplishments that made Sylla so fond of his society, and desirous to prevail upon him to attend him to Rome, to which, when he was using his endeavours to persuade him, Pomponius made the following reply: "Do not, I pray thee, sir, desire to carry me against. those with whom, that I might not bear arms against you, I departed from Italy." Sylla felt and approved so much of the young man's kindness, that he ordered all the presents which were bestowed upon himself whilst at Athens, to be carried to him at his departure. He lived there several years, during which period he paid as much attention to his domestic concerns, as was becoming in a dili-

Pomponius Atticus omni liberali doctrina politissimus.—Cicaro.

gent master of a family; and whatsoever time he had to spare was devoted to literature, and the interests of the republic. Though employed in this manner, he was not unmindful of what civil offices were due to his friends, whom he served in their elections, frequently attending them in person; and was never known to be out of the way at the time when any matter of importance was passing, in which they were concerned, as appears from the singular attachment he manifested to Ci-

^{5 &}quot;De comitiis meis et tibi me permisisse memini, et ego jampridem hoc communibus amicis, qui te expectant, prædico. Te non modo non arcessam, sed prohibibo."—Ad Atticum, lib. i. epist. 10. This was Cicero's election for the prætorship, which he forbids his attending: but, instead of forbidding his coming to attend his consular election, he says, "tuo adventu nobis opus est maturo."

⁵ This singular attachment of Atticus to Cicero is questioned by the Abbe St Real, who positively asserts, that the reverse may be proved from Cicero's letters. A man who makes such an assertion as this, may assert any thing. "En lisant les lettres que Ciceron lui a ecrites, pleines des plus vives marques d'une tendre amitié et d'une confiance, sans réserve; il n'y a personne qui ne voulût etre le troisieme, dans une semblable amitié. Il n'y a qui que ce soit, qui ne souhaitàt des amis, dont le cœur fut aussi bon et les manieres aussi aimables que celles des ces deux illustres Romains. Cependant ces

cero in all his perils, and from the present of two hundred and fifty thousand sestertii, 6 which he made him when under the necessity of leaving his native country. 7 But as soon as affairs were settled at Rome, he returned home, as it appears, in the consulate of Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus. 8 The day of his departure was observed by the whole city of Athens in a way wherein their tears marked the full sense of sorrow which they felt for his loss. He had an uncle, whose name was Quintus Cæcilius, 9 a Roman knight,

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gens là etoient tres-élognes de sentimens et dans la philosophie, et dans les maximes concurant la conduite de la vie, à l'egard de la republique."—Parhasiana ecrite, par Mons. le Clerc, sous le nom de Theodore Parrhase.

⁶ In English money about 2000 l.

⁷ Cicero was obliged to leave his country in consequence of the violent proceedings of Clodius against him.

They were consuls in the year of Rome 689, at which time Atticus must have been in his forty-fourth year; and not, according to Sir Matthew Hale, in his thirtieth.

⁹ Quintus Cæcilius was his uncle by the mother's side: He was a person of an intolerable perverse temper, but Atticus humoured it in such a manner, that he continued in his favour without any interruption to the last. Cæcilius, having adopted his nephew in his will,

and the intimate friend of Lucius Lucullus: he was besides extremely rich, but of an austere impatient temper; yet, had as it was, Atticus contrived to manage it with such extraordinary skill, that he retained his nucle's good-will even to an extreme old age. Of his dutiful address in this instance he reaped the full fruits, for his uncle at his death; adopted him in his will, and made him heir to three-fourths of his estate, by which bequest he inherited ten millions of sestertii. The sister; of Atticus was married to Quin-

Agricus was obliged in consequence of that to take upon him the name of Quintus Caccilius Pomponius Atticus. The body of this Caccilius was dragged, after his death, through the streets of Rosse, with a rope, by the people, so great was their hatred to him on account of his notorious avarice and extortion.

In a letter from Cicero to Atticus, on the death of his uncle, he says, "I most sincerely compliment you on the honourable part which your uncle has acted towards you, and am glad that your difficulties are removed in consequence of the great fortune he has left you."

² Above 80,000 l. in our money.

³ Pomponia.—From the letters of Cicero to Atticus, it appears that his brother Quintus did not live with this lady on the best terms. The letter in which their disagreement is particularly noticed, is the first of the 5th book, and contains a curious account of Pomponius's

promoted by his brother Marcus Cicero, between whom and Atticus there subsisted a most intimate friendship from the time of their being schoolfellows together; and with him Atticus maintained a much closer degree of familiarity than with Quintus himself. From this circumstance it may be inferred, that similarity of manners has greater influence in preserving friendship, than affinity of blood. He was besides very intimate with Quintus Hortensius, who was at that time the most distinguished orator at the bar, and it was then a matter not easily to be ascertained, which of them loved him most, Cicero or

behaviour towards her husband, on which Cleero observes, " nihil meo fratre lenius, nihil asperius tua sorote mihi visum est."

^{*} Friendships contracted by boys at school; which have been cemented, as it were, by a degree of religious intercourse, continue in full force even to old age.—QUINTILIAN.

⁵ Cicero, in a letter to Caius Memmius, says, "I look upon Atticus as a brother; and indeed there is no man who has a more considerable share of my heart, or from whose friendship I derive greater satisfaction."

⁶ Principatum Eloquentiæ tenebat;—hence called Causarum Rex in the Forum.

Hortensius. But what was very extraordinary, and not less honourable to both, was, that, open rivals as they appeared in the career of eloquence, their mutual esteem suffered no abatement from the jarrings of competition, or the whispers of envy; while the virtues of Atticus were still the bond that cemented the attachment of those illustrious men. He behaved with such peculiar discretion in all matters belonging to the republic, that he always was, and always had the good fortune of being considered to be on the

This harmony, so unusual with those who contend for the same prize, was, says Melmoth, greatly owing to the good offices of Atticus, who seems, indeed, upon all occasions, (and it is the most amiable part of his very sin-

⁷ Hortensius was about seven or eight years older than Cicero, by whom he was more particularly considered as his pattern, or rather competitor in glory.

⁸ Those, says Bayle, who know how much the jealousy of eloquence excites and agitates the other passions, may form a good idea of the address and merit of a man who understood how to preserve peace between two of the most celebrated orators amongst the ancients. It was sufficient, continues Bayle, for Pomponius Atticus to insinuate himself agreeably into their affections; but it was likewise necessary that they should observe in him such qualities as might inspire them with esteem and respect for him.

best side, which was that of the senate, and yet he never involved himself in the civil commotions of the state, from an idea that the men who embarked in such troubled waters were no more under the influence of their own direction, than they who were tossed about on the waves of the ocean. He solicited no public honours, though they all lay

gular character,) to have employed the remarkable influence he enjoyed with all parties, in reconciling differences and cementing friendships,

⁹ Optimarum partium, et optimatum partium, are the different readings, both of which mean here, those who favoured the interests of the senate in opposition to the Populares, who favoured those of the multitude.

For such determination Lord Bolinghtoke thinks Atticus entitled to no credit; because, says his lordship, he would have been noted for infamy at Athens, for keeping well with all sides, and venturing on none; and yet I cannot help thinking, that, had Atticus lived at Athens in the same upright, dignified manner, in which he did at Rome, he would have escaped the infamy arising from the breach of Solon's law.

² This is evidently the strongest proof which he gave of his virtue, says Bayle, for there was no possibility at that time of being advanced to such posts but by dishonourable means, nor of executing them according to the laws of justice, and to the advantage of one's country, without exposing one's self to the violence of a great number of evil men. Atticus chose rather to continue

epen to him on account of his popularity, interest, and rank; he declined them, because they could neither be sued for, nor obtained, according to the old accustomed rules of their ancestors, owing to the abandoned corruption attending elections, nor could they be managed for the advantage of the republic without running great risk fnom the corrupt state of public morals. He never attended the sale of confiscated property, nor farmed any part of the public revenue, nor became surety for those who did. 3 No man was ever

in a private station of life, than to gain the highest dignities at the expense of his conscience. How excellent a conduct was this: but how uncommon at the same time. If all the world, continues Bayle, resembled Atticus, there would be some reason to apprehend a state of anarchy; but we may rest actisfied in that respect, for there will always be a greater number of dishonest persons ready to take possession of employments by all hinds of unlawful methods, then there will be places for them to receive.

² Cicero was no stranger to this; and in one of his letters to Atticus, rallies him in a vein of pleasantry on the occasion; because he will not suppose that any such resolution could he consistent with the friendship between them.—Bpist, iii, lib. E3.

Orig. "Nullius rei neque pass, neque mancepa."

The Abbe St Real denies this; for, same he, Cicere,

brought to public trial by him acting either as accuser, or as assistant in the accusation. He never engaged is law for settling any business of his own, nor had any lawsuits. The lieutenancies, which many consuls and pretors had the disposed of, were offered to him, none of which were accepted except upon the express conditions of his not attending them to their respective provinces: the homour of the appointment he desmed sufficient, and the profits arising from it he despised. He would not go out with Quintus Cicero to Asia, * though he might have had the situation of Kentenant under him;

in one of his letters, expressly calls Atticus Publicanus, that is, a farmer of the public revenue. Had the Abbe consulted the most correct editions of his author, he could not have been led into so gross a mistake—" Tu aliquid Publicanus pendis," Abbe's edition. " Tu aliquid Publicanus pendis," say Lambinus Grævius, Gronevius, and the judicious Mongault.

[•] In a letter from Cicero to Atticus at this time, he says, " As to what you write to me, that you are resolved not to go to Asia, for my part I wish rather you should go, but I am affaid you cannot conveniently, considering the state of my affairs: however I cannot blame your resolution, especially as I have not gone myself to my province."

for he did not think it becoming his character to be the follower of a prætor, after having declined the honour of being prætor himself. In acting thus, he not only consulted his own dignity but his tranquillity, inasmuch as he avoided the very suspicions of offences. By such prudent precaution, his attentions procured him more real respect, when all people were convinced of their proceeding from kindness, and not from the influence of either hope or fear. Atticus was about sixty years of age at the time of the breaking out of the Cæsarian civil war, and therefore used the privilege which belonged to that time of

s The wise man of the Epicureans had no other duty, but to provide for his own ease: to decline all struggles, to retire from public offices, and to imitate the life of the gods, by passing his days in a calm, contemplative, undisturbed repose, in the midst of rural shades and delightful gardens. This was the scheme, says Middleton, in his life of Cicero, which Atticus followed; he had all the talents that could qualify a man to be useful to society, great parts, learning, judgment, candour, benevolence, generosity, the same love of his country, and the same sentiments in politics, with Cicero, whom he was always advising and urging to act, whilst determined never to act himself, or never at least so far as to disturb his ease, or endanger his safety.

life, and never left the city. Such of his friends as went over to Pompey, he supplied with whatever they wanted out of his private fortune. Although he did not join Pompey in person, his conduct was not on that account displeasing to him, for Atticus had never derived any advantage from him like others, who, raised by his interest, acquired both honours and wealth; of whom some were forced against their inclinations to follow his camp, whilst others remained at

⁶ By the Roman law, no man could be compelled to engage in the militia after fifty, nor any senator summoned to attend his duty in the senate after sixty years of age.—Seneca de brevitate vitæ.

Pompey declared he would consider as enemies all who were not in his camp: Cæsar, on the other hand, said, he would consider as his friend every man that was not in the camp of the enemy.

Societo, in one of his letters to Atticus, says, "All your estates must have become the plunder of the Pompeians, had they succeeded: I say your estates, because, with regard to yourself individually, their intentions were most cruel. This is applied by the Abbe St Real in refutation of the text; but I conceive it does not answer his purpose, for though such might have been the intentions of some of the Pompeians, they never could have found a place in the humane breast of Pompey.

home to his great annoyance. The quiet's which Atticus preserved was so gratifying to Caesar, that as soon as his arms were crowned with victory, though he called upon several persons to provide him with money, yet he never encroached upon Atticus by any such application: on the contrary, he yielded to him, out of complaisance, his sister's son, and Quintus Cicero, whom he found in the camp of Pompey.

By thus adhering steadily to the old maxims he laid down for the regulation of his life, he avoided all new and emergent dangers. Let us now consider the consequences which followed. After the death of Cæsar, when the whole administration of affairs seemed, as it were, to have fallen into the hands of the two Bruti, and Cassius, and the eyes of the whole city appeared turned upon Atticus, he treated Marcus Brutus with such marked attention, as to make all people perceive that the youth lived on a more familiar footing

⁹ Orig. "Attici quies Cæsari fuit grata." Quies here is an elegant way of marking the character of one whodeclines taking any active part in a civil war.

with him, though advanced in years, than with any person even of his own age; on which account Brutus had him not only as his chief adviser in council, but even at his table. At this time a project was set on foot by some people, who thought that the Roman knights should establish a private fund for the support of those who put Cæsar to death; and this, it was supposed, might be easily effected, provided the principal persons of that order could be induced to enter into contributions.

³ On this occasion, says Blackwell, in his Court of Augustus. I cannot avoid complaining of one of the most accomplished of the Roman gentlemen, Titus Pomponius Atticus, who owes the immortality of his name to his friendship with Cicero. He was certainly a friend to liberty and good order at bottom, but carried the principle of the Epicurean philosophy, which he professed " not to meddle with public affairs," Ma wallsusselve, rather too far. He had been intimately acquainted with Marcus Brutus from his youth, admired his virtue, and had been the chief instrument of conciliating the strict intercourse between him and his friend Cioero. He held him in such veneration, that, when Tully was proconsulof Cilicia, Pomponius, in recommending a concern of Brutus, added, " that he should think all Cicero's fin. tique and labour in his government well bestowed. though he should bring nothing away but Marcus Brutus's friendship."

An application of course was made to Atticus by Caius Flavius, ² the friend of Brutus, to set the example; but he, who was of opinion that friendly offices were indiscriminately to be shewn to all parties, and who always had kept aloof from every thing like caballing in the state, answered, that Brutus might make whatever use he pleased of his purse, but that as to himself he would have no private conference, or any public meeting, with any man on such a subject. ³ Thus was snapped asun-

² A Roman knight, of good family and fortune, says Blackwell, whe, when tribune, ordered the man to prison who crowned one of Cæsar's statues with a garland of laurel; and the royal ensign to be torn from it. This is the gentleman, continues Blackwell, who was sent to Atticus upon a very important errand, the ill success of which he deeply regrets.

³ This transaction is alluded to by Brutus in a letter to Atticus, which is thus translated by Middleton: "Nor am I ignorant what your sentiments are with regard to the republic; which, though desperate, you think possible still to be retrieved. Nor in truth, Atticus, do I blame you: For your years, your principles, your children, make you averse from action, which I perceived also from the account of our friend Flavius." Here Brutus is cool, where the Abbe St Real is hot. Atticus had only one child; but the word children is oft applied in this general manner to the case of a single child.

der this intended bond of union, by the dissenting voice of one man.⁴

⁵ Soon after, Antony rose to such superior influence in the state, that Brutus and Cassius

Quia Brutus et Cassius per speciem et nomen provin-

⁴ Orig. "Sic ille consensionis globus hujus unius dissensione disjectus est." Which is thus translated by Sir Matthew Hale: "So that ball of contention by this one man's discretion was broken." So miserably, says Roger North, will the learnedst men err that presume out of their sphere. However I think it's probable Sir Matthew might have written consention, which the ignorance of the printer may have changed into contention.

⁵ The text of the above passage, which has given so much trouble to the commentators. I have translated in the most literal manner, and, in doing so, have followed the correct edition of Lambinus, who gives it thus: "Neque multo post superior cæpit Antonius, ita ut Brutus et Cassius provinciarum, quæ iis dicis causa datæ erant à consulibus, desperatis rebus, in exilium proficiscerentur." The provinces intended for Brutus and Cassius by Julius Cæsar were, Macedonia for the former, and Syria for the latter. But as these were two of the most important commands of the empire, the consuls, Antony and Dolabella, by their superior influence in the state at this time, contrived to get two other provinces of an inferior kind decreed to them, which were, Crete to Brutus, and Cyrene to Cassius. These petty provinces being offered to them, were rejected with indignation.

went into the exile of their provisces, which, from their miserable condition, had been allotted to them by the consule for mere form's take. But Atticus, who refused contributing with others to the support of that party, whilst prosperous, sent Brutus in his distress, on leaving Italy, 6 100,000 sestertii as a present; to which he added 300,000 more, as soon as he got into Epirus. By acting in this manner he did not flatter Antony's present ascendency, the more by reason of Brutus's low condition, nor did he forsake those men whose situation was almost desperate.

After this followed the Mutinian war, a during which period, were I only to speak of his prudence and discretion, I should say less of him than what I ought, or he deserved, for he

ciarum e republica remoti fuerant, et esulati.—Note to the Delphin ed.

Diffisi provinciis, que illis datas fuerant, in eniliam abierunt.—Manurius.

⁶ In English money above 800 l.

⁷ About 2420 l.

⁸ Cassar's will gave rise to this war, that broke out between Octavius and Antony: it was called the Musinian war, from Musins, a city of the Cisalpias Gaul, now Modena.

was literally entitled to the enithet divinus, if an uninterrupted flow of natural goodness can merit the appellation of Divinitas, which is neither increased nor diminished by the various vicissitudes of fortune. Antony, on being proclaimed a public enemy, left Italy without any hopes of a restoration.9 Not only his enemies, whose numbers and power were considerable, but his very friends, united against him, in hopes of benefiting themselves by offering him injury. These men persecuted his very intimates, and even endeavoured to plunder his wife Fulvia of all her property, and, what was worse, were meditating the destruction of his children. Atticus, though living in the strictest intimacy with Cicero, and the bosom friend of Brutus, gave no encouragement to any injury being offered to Antony:

⁹ Velleius Paterculus says, "Antonius turpi ac nuda fuga coactus deserere Italiam,"

¹ Uxor Antonii Fulvia, nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens," these are the strong expressions of Paterculus. Yet this woman, whose avarice and violent cruelty had like to have drawn vengeance upon herself and children, was at this time openly supported by Atticus, from motives, Blackwell thinks, either of generosity, or interested prudence.

on the contrary, he gave all the protection he could to such of his friends as were obliged to fly from the city, and assisted them in every thing they wanted. Publius Volumnius² could not have received more attention from a parent than what he did from him. His kind offices to Fulvia, when perplexed with lawsuits, and vexed with alarming fears, were so particularly marked that she never appeared to answer a recognizance without Atticus attending her, who was her surety in all things. Besides, when it was known that she had made a purchase of a certain estate in her prosperity, which was to be paid for at a particular day, and that the money could not be raised to close the sale on account of the sad reverse in her fortune, he interposed, and lent her the money without interest; and, what is more, without making any stipulation with her for the repayment; because his idea was, that the greatest gain arose from being known and acknowledged to be possessed of a

² Publius Volumnius was a Roman knight, extremely admired for his wit and pleasantry. It was this quality, it is probable, that recommended him to Antony, with

benevolent disposition.² He was at the same time desirous to shew to the world, that he was attached to mankind, and not to their fortune; and by acting in this manner, he thought that nobody could regard him as a time-server.³ For at this crisis it was ima-

whom he appears to have been in some credit, as he was likewise employed by him in the civil wars. Atticus also was in the number of Volumnius's friends; and after the battle of Modena, when Antony's faction was supposed to be irrecoverably ruined, he generously protected him from the violences of the successful party.—See a letter from Cicero to Volumnius, b. iv. L. 18. Melmoth.

Blackwell says, "This same Volumnius was Antony's favourite, and gentleman-usher to his mistress, whose manners had procured him a Greek sirname, Eutrapelus, which signifies in Latin, Facetus, a man of humour. Cicero says of him, "Audi reliqua, infra Eutrapelum Cytheris accubuit." He was Antony's Prefectus Fabrum, or what, in modern language, might be called, according to Melmoth, the commander of his train of artillery.

² According to Epicurus, he who confers benefits on others, procures to himself the satisfaction of seeing the stream of plenty spreading around him from the fountain of his beneficence; at the same time he enjoys the pleasure of being esteemed by others.

And yet our author was mistaken; for Lord Bolingbroke, in speaking of Atticus, says, "his great talents were usury and trimming;" adding, that "he placed his principal merit in being rich." Now, allowing, with his gined by none, that Antony could ever again have any superiority in the administration of affairs. However, his conduct did not fail to draw upon him the public reprehension of some amongst the senatorial order, who did not think he hated bad citizens sufficiently. But Atticus was a man who was guided by his own judgment, and considered more what was proper for him to do, than what others might commend. Fortune now soon began to lour, and when Antony returned to Italy, every one supposed Atticus in the utmost hazard on account of his great intimacy with Cicero and

lordship, 'that he did place his chief merit in being rich,'—we are now to inquire how he disposed of that wealth which constituted this merit? Was it not in relieving, indiscriminately, all persons who were in distress; and might not Lord Bolingbroke himself, had Atticus lived in his day, been one of the first objects of his concern, when obliged to leave his country: then, perhaps, he might have called him the most generous man alive, instead of the most plausible.—But his lordship had read the Abbe St Real, and not Cornelius Nepos.

⁴ And, notwithstanding these remonstrances of his friends, Atticus continued constant in the even tener of his way; and, as Nepos says, rather thought it honourable for him to practise what was fit for him to do, than what others would have commended.—And to this fidelity of Atticus to his friends, to himself, to his principles, Sir Matthew Hale ascribes his safety.

Brutus. On this supposition he had left the Forum before the arrival of the generals, alarmed by the terrors of a proscription, and lay concealed with Publius Volumnius, to whom, as we have shewn before, he was of considerable service, (for so quick were the vicissitudes of events at this period, that some-

In addition to his great intimacy with Cicero and Brutus, his fortune was such an object of temptation, that he had little doubt of being proscribed: besides, Cicero had predicted it, in one of his letters to him, in these words: "Itaque mi Attice, fortiter hoc velim accipias, ut ego scribo: Genus illud interitus, quo casurus es, fædum duces, et quasi denuntiatum nobis ab Antonio."

⁶ Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus.

Indeed, upon the return of Antony to Rome, Atticus, says Sir Matthew Hale, began to be somewhat
afraid of proscription: this fear attacked him by reason
partly of his old age, which is naturally more obnoxious
to fear than younger age, and partly hy reason of that
extremity and violence used against Cicero, his intimate
friend. But, continues Sir Matthew, it soon appeared
that he was more afraid than he had cause, for Antony
did not only give him assurance of his own safety, but, at
his intercession, spared more that had been otherwise
obnoxious to the danger of this revolution. In short,
concludes he, this good man lives as happy and as honourable a life as could possibly be expected in the most
serene and quiet times.

times one party, and sometimes another, might rise either to the highest pinnacle of good fortune, or be exposed to the most extreme danger). In this retirement he was not alone, for he had with him Quintus Gellius Canius, one who was of his own age, and of similar manners. The close union in which Atticus lived with him, whom he had known as a play-fellow at school, and the uninterrupted friendship which he had for him from that early acquaintance to their mutual old age, may be adduced as another instance of his good nature. But Antony, though his resentment was furious against Cicero and all his friends, none of whom he intended to spare, yet, when many remonstrated with him on the subject, he was so fully sensible of Atticus's past kindness, that, as soon as he learned where he was, he wrote to him. and desired him to banish all fear, and forthwith come to him. At the same time he let him know, that he had erased his name, and that

⁸ Blackwell, in his familiar style, says, that Antony wrote to Atticus with his own hand, "To fear nothing, but come to him directly, that he had dashed both his and his friend Gellius's name out of the dead list, and had sent a guard to escort him, as it was dark."

of Gellius Canius, out of the list of the proscribed, adding, that he had appointed him a guard to prevent any danger happening him in the night, the usual time of such accidents. By this means Atticus found not only protection for himself, but for him whom he held most dear, in a season of the utmost peril; for his object was never to seek assistance for himself independent of his friend, that all people might see he wished for no fortune separate from him. In fine, if the pilot is commended who saves his ship from the rocks and shoals of a wintry sea, why should not his prudence, be entitled to a peculiar encomium, who, after encountering the storms and tempests of a troubled commonwealth, has at last come safe into harbour. As soon

⁹ A friendship which makes the least noise, says the Spectator, is very often most useful; for which reason I should prefer a prudent friend to a zealous one. Atticus, one of the best men of ancient Rome, continues the same writer, was a very remarkable instance of what I am speaking. This extraordinary person, amidst the civil wars of his country, when he saw the designs of all parties equally tended to the subversion of liberty, constantly preserved the esteem and affection of both the competitors.

as he had extricated himself from the difficulties with which he was surrounded, his attention was wholly taken up with that of aiding and assisting every one he could. Whilst the rabble were hunting out the proscribed for the rewards offered by the generals, no one ever came into Epirus, who was not supplied with whatever he wanted; and had, besides, full permission to remain there in safety, as long as he pleased. To this may be added, that after the battle of Philippi, and the death of Caius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, he resolved to protect Lucius Julius Mocilla, the prætor, and his son, together with Aulus Torquatus, and every other man who was beaten down by adverse fortune; and he took care to have all necessaries conveyed to them from Epirus to Samothrace.1

However, it is difficult to enumerate every particular of this kind; and particularly so, when unnecessary. This one thing, it is wished, should be well understood, that his

The island to which the republicans fled after their defeat at Philippi. It is, says D'Anville, an island celebrated in antiquity, "comme une terre sacree, et un asile invielable."

generosity² was not influenced by times nor seasons, nor sinister motives; an inference fairly to be drawn from the peculiar circumstances of the period in which it was evinced; for his court was not confined to men in prosperity, nor was his succour ever withheld from those who were in distress.³ An instance of the latter occurs in his treatment of Servilia,⁴ the mother of Brutus, to whom he behaved with no less respect after her son's death, than he had done whilst his affairs were in the most flourishing condition. Thus was his liberality displayed; for he had no

² His liberality, says Sir Matthew Hale, was not *intuitu partis*, or governed by regard to any particular faction; but *intuitu humani generis*, a common benignity to human nature, that whatsoever the party was, yet, if he were in distress, he had the experience of his bounty.

³ Hume, in one of his dialogues, speaks of Atticus as ^a that learned and virtuous Roman, whose dignity, tho be was only a private gentleman, was inferior to that of no man in Rome."

^{*} Of Servilia, the sister of Cato, and mother of Brutus, I need only observe, that she was a woman of such superior charms, derived from the beauty of her person, and the urbanity of her manners, as made her an interesting object of public attention during her whole life:

—her supposed intrigue with Julius Cæsar gave her much celebrity,

differences with any man, which was the consequence of his doing injury to no one, and of forgetting rather than of remembering an injury, if offered to him by another.5 The favours he received were written in everlasting memorial; but such as he bestowed were only called to his remembrance by the acknowledgments of the receiver. Herein his conduct proved the truth of the following observation, which says, "every man's fortune is the effect of his own conduct."-By such prudence and equity, he took care not to subject himself to punishment in any instance, and consequently did not fashion his fortune before he fashioned his manners, as a previous qualification. By acting in the manner already mentioned, he laid the ground of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa's forming a connection with him, and preferring his daughter6 to all other women, though it was quite

⁵ Injuriarum remedium est oblivio," is one of Publius Syrus's moral sentences, which should be engraven on the mind of every man who cometh into this world.

⁶ The elegant Epicurean, Pomponius Atticus, whose services to Fulvia had saved him at the proscription, still enjoyed the respect due to his former character, when he lived connected with the friends of Rome. He had no

evident, from the intimate terms of friendship existing between him and the young Csesar, whose power was then considerable, added to his own great influence in the state, that he might have made any alliance he pleased, even of the most flattering rank and consequence. This match was brought about by Mark Antony, (a circumstance not to be overlooked,) who was then one of the triumvirs for settling

son: Pomponia Attica, his only daughter, was to inherit his great estate; and this lady, by Antony's means, was now married to Marcus Agrippa. It is not to be doubted, but this relation to the first Roman knight would be useful to the Cæsarian general; for though the old man was too selfish to hazard any thing for the public good, his dispositions were sound, as consequently the advices would be, which he gave his daughter's husband.—BLACKWELL'S Court of Augustus.

By this marriage Agrippa had only one child, Vipsania, who was married to Tiberius, and became the mother of Drusus, the only son of that emperor.

This marriage turned out unhappy. Quintus Cecilius, called the *Epirote*, a young man whose genius had been carefully cultivated by Atticus, and with whom Pomponia used to take delight in reading poetry, and talking of its beauties, became the object of her tender solicitude, and the scholar was preferred to the soldier: but the connection was soon discovered; the man of letters, says Blackwell, was forbid the house, and the lady died soon after of shame and grief.

the state of the commonwealth. His interest Atticus might have used in making considerable additions to his fortune: but he was so little biassed by the love of money that he only employed it in rescuing his friends from the dangers in which they were involved; a circumstance which contributed greatly to the celebrity of his name, during the time of the proscription, as appears from the following anecdote: - When the triumvirs, agreeable to the mode in which things were then transacted, had sold the estate of Lucius Saufeius,7 a Roman knight, his contemporary, and who. from his attachment to philosophy, had lived at Athens, and possessed many valuable concerns in Italy, Atticus, by the pains and industry which he used on the occasion, caused

⁷ In a letter from Cicero to Atticus, he says, "I suppose Lucius Saufeius will dispatch an epistle consolatory to you, on the death of your grandmother." We learn from history that this Saufeius was a professed Epicurean, whom Cicero, in the way of rallying, proposes as a proper comforter to Atticus on the occasion. The Epicurean principles of Atticus were far from being favourable to the pious affections of a child towards a parent; and therefore we may suppose a little satire couched in the letter.

the same messenger, who announced the loss of his fortune, to announce likewise the recovery of it.-Lucius Julius Calidius, 8 who, after the death of Lucretius and Catullus, was, in my judgment, the most elegant poet of the age in which he lived, and was besides a man highly esteemed for his good qualities and great acquirements in all polite literature, was cleared from the imputation of all crime through his means, though his name, in his absence, was put down in the list of the proscribed by Publius Volumnius, Antony's Prafectus Fabrum, on account of his great African possessions. Whether this was attended with greater glory or labour, was at the time difficult to be ascertained, because it plainly appeared that Atticus's friends were as much the object of his concern when present as when absent. Moreover, he was reckoned as good a father of a family, as he was a citizen, for though rich,9 no man was less fond of

Vossius, in his account of the Latin poets, gives us no further information of Calidius, than what is comprised in the text.

⁹ Atticus's great riches are ascribed, by a French critic, noticed by the Abbe St Real, to his having kept a

making purchases, ¹ or of building, ³ than what he was. His place of residence was not fashionably ornamented, but every thing in it was excellent. His house, situate on the Quirinal hill, was called Tamphilanam, ³ and had been left him by his uncle, the delightfulness of which consisted, not in its structure, but in a wood with which it was surrounded; for the house itself being old, had more comfort and neatness about it, than expence, as he never made an alteration except what time made necessary.

bank at his house, under the name of the Oppii, to whom he had leased it. The Ænigma Oppiorum, mentioned by Cicero in his letters to Atticus, gave rise to this absurd opinion.

¹ Non esse emacem, says Cicero in one of his paradoxies, est Vectigal.

² Lacones, si cui mala imprecabantur, quatuor ipsi accidere optabant, quorum primum erat ædificandi desiderium.

³ There was a family at Rome called the Tamphili; but some commentators are inclined to think that the reading should be Cacilianam, instead of Tamphilanam; and that the house obtained this appellation from his uncle Cacilius, who left it to him by his will. In the Delphin edition, it is said that the house had its name a quodam Tamphilo Romano. To the house left him by his uncle, Cicero alludes in one of his letters to Atticus, In tuis adibus amanissimis agam tecum, &c.

He had a household, which, if estimated by its intrinsic value, was very good; if by its exterior, very indifferent, for it consisted of learned youths, excellent readers, and numerous transcribers. The truth is, there was not a footman in his family who was not capable of discharging both these offices. —In

^{*}By this advantage of having a family of learned slaves, he had made a very large collection of choice and curious books, and he signified to Cicero his design of selling them; yet seems to have intimated, at the same time, that he expected a larger sum for them, than he could easily spare: which gave Cicero ground to beg of him, in several letters, to reserve the whole number for hlm, till he could raise money enough for the purchase. "Libros tuos conservo," says Cicero to Atticus, "et noli desperare, eos me meos facere posse: quod si assequor, supero Crassum divitiis, atque omnium vicos et prata contemno." In another he says, that he had placed all his hopes of comfort and pleasure, whenever he should retire from business, on Atticus's reserving those books for him.

⁵ Aganostæ.

⁶ Librarii.

Atticus is much praised by his historian, says Hume, for the care which he took in recruiting his family from the slaves born in it; adding, that Atticus's estate lay chiefly in Epirus; which being a remote, desolate place, rendered it profitable for him to rear them.

like manner, the artificers, whom domestic use makes necessary in every house, were extremely good, of whom there was not one that was not born and educated in it: a sufficient proof in itself of his moderation, as well as of his industry. The restraint which he laid on the acquisition of every thing passionately desired by others, deserves well the name of moderation; and the procuring, by diligence and care, what is generally acquired by money, has the merit of no ordinary application. He was elegant, not magnificent; splendid, not sumptuous: a simple neatness was the whole object of his study. His furniture was plain, not extravagant, and such as could excite no particular observation. There is one circumstance which I shall not omit, notwithstanding it may appear of little importance. Although a Roman knight of the first consequence, he invited men of all ranks to his table, yet we know, from his Ephemeris, that he was not accustomed to spend more than three

⁸ Those artificers, according to Manutius, were "glutinatores librorum, medici, coqui, sutores, tonsores, balneatores, condi, cellarii, promi, procuratores peni, atrienses, mediastini aliique præterea."

thousand asses, every month. This sum, I state, not from hearsay, but from actual knowledge; and I state it from being intimately acquainted with his domestic concerns, on account of the great familiarity which subsisted between us. He had no other entertainment at his meals except what arose from reading, which to me produced the most delicious harmony; and no supper was ever given at his house without reading, by means of which the minds of his guests were no less regaled.

⁹ Things must have been very cheap at Rome to have enabled Atticus to entertain the first people of rank at his table at so small an expence, which, if the text is correct, did not amount to 10 l. a-month. I am of opinion the reading should be rather about the same sum, in singulos dies, instead of in singulos menses; for if provisions had not in those days been much cheaper than what is conceivable at present, and which from Varro and Pliny it appears they were not, such a public table as Atticus must have kept, could not have been supported.

If he had kept an open table, says Bayle, for all persons promiscuously who would have come to it, he would have done a very disagreeable thing to a great many people by this custom; but he only invited those who were of the same taste with himself.

² Vestree conse non solum in præsenti, sed etiam postero die jucundæ sunt.

[&]quot;O noctes, conseque Deum," &c.—HORACE.

than their appetites, for it was his practice never to invite any person, whose manners and habits of living were repugnant to his own. Even after his fortune was considerably increased, he made no alteration in his daily expence, nor the slightest change in his style of living; so that neither, in a fortune of two millions of sestertii, 3 which he had received from his father, nor in one of ten millions, 4 did he live in greater affluence than he had done before; for such was his moderation, 5

In the time of supper, the guests were entertained with music and dancing; sometimes with pantomines and play actors, &c.; but the more sober had only persons to read or repeat select passages from books—what these passages probably were, we learn from Horace,

Utrumne

Divitiis homines, an sint virtute beati.

Quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne trahat nos.

Et quid sit natura boni, summumque quid eius.

5 " Novi enim," says Cicero in his Cato Major, which he addresses to Atticus, " moderationem animi tui, et equitatem."

Moderation in the pursuit of honour and riches, according to the system of Epicurus, is the only security against disappointment and vexation. A wise man,

³ About 16145 l. in English money.

⁴ L. 80729 L

that in both conditions of life his rank was equally well supported. He possessed no gardens, nor any fine villa, either in the vicinity of the city, or sea. He had no country residences, except what were at Ardea, and Nomentum; and his whole pecuniary revenues arose from his possessions in Epirus.

therefore, will prefer the simplicity of rustic life to the magnificence of courts.

Atticus presented a petition to Cæsar in favour of the inhabitants of Buthrotum, who were likely to suffer severely from their attachment to Pompey. Buthrotum is a sea-port of Epirus, opposite to Corcyra, visited by Æneas in his way to Italy from Troy, "Et celsam Buthroti ascendimus urbem."—Atticus called his villa at Buthrotum Amalthæa, in which he had an apartment

³ Ardea, a town of Latium, and capital of the Rutuli. It was about 8 miles from Rome, and not far from the sea.

Nomentum, a town of the Sabines, famous for its wines, not more than 12 miles from Rome, entirely inland.

Scicero, in a letter to Atticus, says, "Epiroticam emptionem gaudeo tibi placere." In another letter, he says, "I am determined to come to your house in Epirus, not invited by its beauty," &c. In another, "You are to know that Antium, with regard to Rome, is as your Buthrotum is to Corcyra." Besides his estate at Buthrotum, he had two others at Thesprotia and Chaonia.

and Rome. From these circumstances it may be inferred, that he was wont to estimate the use of money not by its quantity, but by the manner of using it. He neither told a lie himself, nor could endure that meanness in another: therefore his courtesy was not without a certain mixture of severity, nor was his gravity divested of his usual good breeding; so that it was not easy to ascertain, whether his friends respected or loved him most. Whatever reasonable request was made him, he promised conscientiously to perform; and this he did from thinking it the part, not of a liberal, but a careless man, to promise what he could not fulfil. He was so anxious to accomplish what he had once promised, that he

Velox amænum sæpe Lucretilem Mutat Lycæo Faunus.—HORACE.

named Amalthaum, provided with every thing that could furnish entertainment and convey instruction. Amalthau was the name of the Sibyl, who offered the books to King Tarquin.—Besides the aforesaid mansions, he had one which Cicero calls Lucretum, in the country of the Sabines, and was remarkable for its fine air. In a letter from Cicero to Atticus, he says, "Unam mehercule tecum apricationem in illo Lucretino tuo sole malim, quam omnia istiusmodi regna."

made it appear, that the business recommended to his care was not that of another, but his -He was unwearied in performing any business he had undertaken, for he thought his credit concerned in the fulfilment of it, of which he was scrupulously jealous. For this reason he was entrusted with the entire management of the affairs of the two Ciceros, Marcus and Quintus; of Cato, Hortensius, Aulus Torquatus, and many other Roman Hence may be drawn this infeknights. rence, that the management of the affairs of the republic was not declined by him through any indolence of disposition, but mature judgment. I can produce no greater instance of his good manners than this, that, when a young man, he was extremely agreeable to

In a letter from Cicero to Atticus are these words:
I am no stranger to the candid, noble disposition of your mind, nor did I imagine that we differ in any respect, except the line of life which we have respectively chosen. The love of power and glory prompted me to the pursuit of public offices: Your view, and an irreprehensible view it was, led you to seek philosophical retirement. As to that solid glory, which is founded in probity, in application, and in the observance of duties, I prefer neither myself, nor any man in the world, to you."

Sylla when advanced in years; and when he was an old man, he was equally agreeable to Brutus in the flower of his age. He lived with his friends Quintus Hortensius and Marcus Cicero, who were both his contemporaries, in a way that made it difficult to say. to what particular time of life his manners: were best adapted; for the latter loved hime with such fervent zeal, that his own brother. Quintus was not more dear to him, nor on a more familiar footing. The sixteen volumes of Epistles 7 which Cicero addressed to Atticus, from the time of his consulship to the latter end of his life, are an evidence of what: I have said, independent of those books in which he is particularly mentioned, and which:

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⁷ Though there are sixteen books of Cicero's letters to Atticus still remaining, yet not a single letter of the latter was ever published, which, concludes Middleton, can hardly be charged to any other cause but his having withdrawn them from Tiro, after Cicero's death, and suppressed them with a singular care, lest, in that revolution of affairs, they should be produced to his hurt, or the diminution of his credit with their new masters;—an eminent proof of his caution, and the regard he always paid to the principle of the sect of Epicurus, which inculcated private security as one of the chief goods.

are now given to the public. Whoever reads these volumes cannot wish for a more connected history of the times, of which they treat, for in them are detailed the objects of the leading men, the faults of the commanders, and the revolutions of the government, without any considerable omission. Hence it may be asserted, that prudence is a species of divination: for Cicero not only foretold what would come to pass, which all did happen in his life-time, but, as a prophet, declared the things that are now coming to pass.

In speaking of the regard Atticus had for his relations, why should I dwell much on such a subject? particularly when I myself heard him boasting at the funeral of his mother, whom he buried at the age of ninety, at the time when he was in his sixty-seventh year, that he never had any occasion to be reconciled to her, nor ever had the slightest cause of difference with his sister, which is a proof either that no cause of complaint had ever arisen between them, or that he was of

³ Cicero mentions both Atticus's mother and sister: "Apud matrem recte est, eaque nobis curse est." "Mater tua et soror a me Quintoque fratre diligitur."

so indulgent a disposition towards his relations, as to consider it an impiety to be angry with those whom he had every reason to love. This behaviour was prescribed to him not only by natural reason, whose dictates we all obey, but likewise by his learning: for he had so completely imbibed the doctrines of the principal philosophers, that he made use of them for the government of his life, and not for ostentation. He was a strict follower of the customs of the ancients, and a

⁹ It is a pity, says Bayle, that the history did not likewise inform us how he acted with regard to his wife. He did not boast any thing upon that point, and this might lead one to suspect that his address or patience were not exerted so remarkably towards his wife, as towards her mother and sister, who, perhaps, on their part, contributed very much to this harmony between them, and did not oblige him to make any considerable advances.

¹ Orig. " Neque id fecit natura solum, sed etiam doctrina."

Ex utraque enim absoluta virtus exoritur, says Manutius. "Idem ego contendo," says Cicero in his speech for Archias, "cum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quædam, conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud nescio quid præclarum ac singulare solere existere."

great lover of antiquity, of which he had so accurate a knowledge that he has given a very full illustration of it in that volume in which he has adorned the magistracies. For there was no law enacted, nor peace made, nor war undertaken, nor brilliant action performed by the Roman people, which has not been noted

He wrote Annals, in which he observed a very exact chronology, and cleared, in the most perspicuous manner imaginable, the genealogies of the Roman magistrates. This work contains seven centuries, from whence we may easily comprehend that it related principally to the Roman history. I say principally, for we must not doubt but that the author gave a short history of several other states in a chronological order. Cicero does not permit us to hesitate about it; " Let him understand likewise," says he in his Complete Orator, "the series of the ancient history, especially that of our city, and also of other considerable nations and illustrious kings. This task has been made easy by the labour of our friend Atticus. who has given us an account of every thing important for 700 years, in a chronological order, in one book." And in his Brutus, the same author says, " That book of Atticus had, among many other new things, this advantage. which I particularly wanted, that, by laying down a chronological series of the times, I saw all things at one view."-See also Cicero de Finibus, lib. ii. c. 21.

² Orig. In eo volumine quo Magistratus ornavit: thus explained by Manutius, ornamenta Magistratus exposuit.

in it according to its exact chronology; and what was very difficult, he has so interwoven therein the genealogy of our principal families, that from it we may learn the individual pedigree of each of our illustrious men.3 However this was a task which, in some instances, he executed in separate treatises; for it appears, that, at the request of Marcus Brutus, he traced the Junian family from its earliest origin down to the present time, specifying the genealogy of each illustrious person, together with the honours to which they severally attained, and marking the distinct times in which they enjoyed them. In like manner, at the solicitation of Marcellus Claudius, he gave an account of the family of the Marcelli; and, at the request of Scipio Cornelius, and Fabius Maximus, he noticed the families of the Cornelii, and Fabii, and Æmi-

³ From one of Cicero's letters to Attieus, he says, "I observe that you mention in your Annals under what consuls Carneades came at the head of that embassy to Rome." Carneades came with Diogenes the Stoie, and Critolaus the Peripatetic, as ambassadors to Rome, before Christ 155. Sent by the Athenians—Consuls—P. C. Scipio Nasica, and M. Claudius Marcellus.

hi, in separate essays, than all which nothing can be more charming to those who have any desire to be acquainted with the lives of distinguished men. He just acquired such a knowledge of poetry, as not to appear, in my opinion, ignorant of its beauties; for he has given us, in poetic numbers, a sketch of the lives of those excellent Romans, who surpassed the rest of their fellow-citizens in honous, and the greatness of their exploits; and all this he has done in not more than five or six appropriate verses, which he has placed under their respective images: indeed it almost exceeds belief, that such a number of considerable facts could have been expressed in so concise a brevity of language.

There is also a book of his, which he wrote in Greek, concerning the consulship of Cice-

⁴ He was particularly learned in the Roman history, which gave him an opportunity of obliging many families by making out their genealogies; a circumstance which even contributed to his safety.

S Certainly, says Phny, there cannot be a greater argument of the felicity and happiness of any man, than to have all the world evermore solicitous to know what kind of person he was whilst he lived.

ro.6 What we have written to this period was published in the lifetime of Atticus. it has pleased fortune that we should survive him, we shall briefly enumerate the remaining particulars of his life, and, as far as it is in our power, inform our readers (a matter to which we have before alluded,) that "each man's manners in general affix to him his particular fortune." For as Atticus was content himself with the honours attached to his Equestrian Order, from which he was sprung, so he became at last related to the emperor, the son of the divine Julius, whose familiar acquaintance he had previously secured by no other charm than that of the elegance of his life and manners, by which he had captivated the other great men of the state, who were Cæsar's equals in rank, though far his inferiors in fortune. For such was the successful tide of Cae-

⁶ I have read, says Cicero in a letter to Atticus, your Greek history of my consulship with pleasure, and beg leave to say, that it is not finished in your usual taste and elegance. Illa tua (legi enim libenter) horridula mihi atque incompta visa sunt: sed tamen erant ornata hoc ipso, quod ornamenta contempserant.

This last sentiment of Cicero corresponds with Thomson's, "When unadorned, adorned the most."

sar's prosperity, that nothing was ever witnessed like it; and this was what gave him all that to which a Roman citizen could aspire. Atticus had a grand-daughter, born from his daughter, who was married to Agrippa, whilst a virgin. That fruit of this marriage, when not more than a year old, was betrothed by Cæsar to Tiberius Claudius Nero, the son of Drusilla, his step-son. A nuptiel alliance which confirmed their friendship, and rendered the intercourse of familiarity more frequent. However, previous to those espousals, whenever Cæsar was absent from the city, he never wrote to any of his friends without writing by the same post to Atticus,

⁷ Tiberius was married to Agrippina, the daughter of Marcus Agrippa, and grand-daughter of Cæcilius Atticus, a Roman knight, the same person to whom Cicero has addressed so many letters. After having by her his son Drusus, he was obliged to part with her, though she retained his affection, and was again pregnant, to marry Julia, the daughter of Augustus.—Subtonius's Life of Tiberius.

But what does Seneca say, in one of his epistles, to this noble alliance? "Nomen Attici (says he,) perire Ciceronis epistolæ non sinunt: nihil illi profuisset gener Agrippa, et Tiberius progener, et Drusus Csesar pronepos."

to let him know what he was doing, and particularly what book he was reading, and in what place, and how long he intended remaining in it. To this may be added, that when he was in Rome, and unable to enjoy his company from a multiplicity of business, he scarcely ever suffered a day to pass without proposing to him some question on the subject of either antiquity, or poetry; and often, by way of jest, used to rally him, for the purpose of drawing from him longer answers. An instance occurs, wherein Cæsar took care to have repaired, at the recommendation of Atticus, the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, o

What a pity it is that there should not be one of Atticus's letters remaining, particularly when we learn from Cicero, that he always considered his longest letter the best.

⁹ Built by Romalus on account of the victory gained over the Ceninenses, after having killed Arco, their captain. On this occasion he brought the spoils on a pole, and placing them in form of a trophy against the trunk of an oak, consecrated them under the name of Spolia opima, as a public monument of his valour. It was the first temple in Rome, and gave to Jupiter the name of Feretrius, either a ferendo, because he had assisted the Romans, or a feriendo, because he had conquered their

which, from having been left uncovered. had been falling into ruin through age and neglect: this temple was built by Romulus in the capitol. A similar attention was paid him by Mark Antony, who constantly wrote to him whilst abroad, and gave him the most accurate information, not only of what he was doing in the remotest parts of the earth, but even of what he was meditating to do. the estimation in which such a correspondence should be held, will best be judged of by him who can rate the quantum of wisdom necessary to preserve the favour and friendship of men, between whom no intercourse took place, but that of emulation on subjects of the highest moment, together with a mutual disparagement of each other, such as must that have been which existed between Cæsar and Antony, whilst each of them were struggling to be not only master of the city of Rome, but of the whole world. After com-

Ancus Martius, and decorated by Julius Casar. Augustus, his successor, erected the altar, from which the present church, called the church of St Mary in ara Cali, takes its name.—SALMON'S Ancient and Modern Rome.

pleting the number of seventy-seven years, (during which time he increased no less in honours, than in favour and fortune,) he arrived to an extreme old age. His state of health during life was so extremely good, that for thirty years he never required the aid of medicine; but at last he contracted a disorder, which at the beginning was slighted both by himself and the physicians, as a trivial indisposition, having been taken at first for a tenesmus, which, it was supposed, would easily give way to speedy and gentle remedies. For three months he had no other pains to struggle with, than what arose from

^{&#}x27;Notwithstanding what our author says of Atticus's general good health, it appears, from Cicero's letters, that he was subject to quartan agues. In one letter Cicero says, "Juague tua mihi valde molesta: medere amabo, dum est agaza." This complaint was a difficulty of urine in consequence of the stone or gravel.

From Aulus Gellius, it appears that quartan agues were supposed by the antients to be extremely salutary in their consequences.

² Tenesmos or Tenesmus.—Morbus extremi directique intestini, in quo frequens est desidendi cupiditas et dolor ubi aliquid excernitur, &c. Cels. 4—18. Tenesmos id est—crebra et inanis voluntas desurgendi—tollitur poto lacte asinio, item bubulo.—PLINY.

the various methods taken for his cure. At last the disorder suddenly shewed itself with great violence in one of his intestines, where it produced a putrid fistula in his loins. But previous to this appearance, when he found his pains increase with the addition of fever, he sent for his son-in-law Agrippa, along with Lucius Cornelius Balbus, and Sextus Peducæus. As soon as he saw them entering the room, rising up in his bed, and leaning on his elbow, he thus addressed them: "What care and pains I have taken to recover my health, it is needless to repeat to you, who have been eve-witnesses of it. Having, as I trust, satisfied you all, that nothing on my part has been omitted conducive to my cure: what remains for me to do, is, that I should take my own case into my consideration. Of this determination I did not wish you to be ignorant, for it is my firm resolution no longer to feed the disorder. The sustenance I have taken for these few days past has served not only to prolong my life, but, what is worse, has served to prolong my affliction, without any hopes of recovery. Therefore I beseech you now to approve of my purpose: but if

you do not, I can only say you will in vain try to dissuade me from it."3 These words were uttered with a steadiness of expression and look, which seemed to indicate rather the intentions of one who was going out of one house into another, than of one going out of the world. Agrippa, who stood by his bedside, weeping and kissing him, begged and entreated him not to hasten what Nature herself must so soon do for him: and, as it was still in his power to live a little longer, to save himself for his friends: but this advice was resisted with the most obstinate taciturnity. -In consequence of this determination, having abstained from food for two days, his fever suddenly ceased, and his distemper apparently abated; yet he was resolved, and . executed his purpose. Therefore, on the fifth day after he had taken his fatal resolve, the

³ Atticus, says Montaigne, in his chapter of Judging of another's Death, having surveyed death at leisure, was not only not discouraged at meeting it, but fully bent to do so: for being satisfied that he had engaged in the combat, he thought he was obliged in honour to see the end of it. It is far beyond not fearing death, to desire to taste and relish it.

day before the calends of April, he departed this life, in the consulate of Cneius Domitius

* He died altogether in character as a true Epicurean, says Middleton, voluntarily sacrificing the remains of a languishing life, to purchase a deliverance from pain, which he deemed the sovereign evil.—In another place, Middleton says, Atticus was by principle an Epicurean, whose chief good consisted in the secure enjoyment of a pleasurable life, undisturbed by the cares and management of public affairs.

It seems to me, says Sir Matthew Hale, that his obstinate resolution not to take any nourishment to preserve his life, because it would prolong his pain together with his life, was not at all commendable: but as it savoured too much of impatience, unbecoming a philosopher, so it was an act of much wilful imprudence; for the receiving of convenient nourishment might prolong his life, and possibly abate his pain. But the wilful refusal of it must necessarily be (as it was) an immediate cause of his death, which he thereby hastened; and although self-murder was grown too much in fashion among some of the grandees of Rome, as appears by the instance of Cato and others, yet certainly it was a practice not only of inhumanity, but also of pusillanimity and impotence of mind; and a miserable mistaken choice, to choose death, the worst of evils, rather than endure pain or disgrace in the world; which a little philosophy would have taught them to bear with patience, rather than to avoid by destroying their own lives.

Abstinence from food was Atticus's accustomed remedy in all alight complaints. Cicero writes thus: and Caius Sosius. He was carried to burial on a small bier, agreeably to his own direc-

According to the system of the Stoics, a wise man may justly and reasonably withdraw himself from life, whenever he finds it expedient; not only because life and death are among those things which are in their nature indifferent, but also because life may be less consistent with virtue than death.

⁵ In the year of Rome 722, and before Christ 32. The consuls for that year were, Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus and Caius Sosius Nepos. If Atticus died in this year he must have been born in the year of Rome 645, about the time when Servius Sulpicius Galba, and Marcus Aurelius Scaurus, were consuls, and about two years before the birth of Cicero. Middleton supposes, that Atticus was three years and about three months older than Cicero.

o" Elatus est in lecticula." How Sir Matthew Hale could translate this passage, "he was lifted up in his bed," is extraordinary. Roger North, in his Life of Lord-Keeper Guilford, says, "The translation was so ill done, as would have brought the rod over the back of a school-boy." The motive of Sir Matthew's translating the life is given us by North in the following words:

"He (Sir Matthew) took a fancy to be like Pomponius Atticus, or one that kept above water in all times, and well esteemed by all parties. He published a short account of that noble Roman's life, and at the entrance

[&]quot;Spero tibi jam esse ut volumus; quoniam equidem normou, cum leviter commotus esses; sed tamen velim scire quid agas."

tions, without any formal solemnity, attended by the most worthy in Rome, together with the populace, who assembled in great num-

a translation of the same from Cornelius Nepos, of which we have given such specimens as seem to confirm the character given of it by North, that it was not well done.

I have now finished the translation of the Life of Pomponius Atticus, one of the most singular men of the age in which he lived, or indeed of any other, and have annexed to it such remarks as may serve, I hope, to keep his character in that just point of view in which his elegant historian, Cornelius Nepos, has left it. Such of my readers as may be more particularly interested in investigating the character of this extraordinary man, I beg leave to refer to some judicious observations written by the late William Melmoth, in his excellent translation of Cicero's Essay on Old Age, wherein he will find that truly classical scholar's opinion of Atticus, together with what he says in vindicating not only him, but his historian, from the false and frivolous objections of French criticism.—In the course of my remarks I have noticed most of the idle cavils that have from time to time been brought against his character, and given them such answers as seemed to me satisfactory. Whether the reader may think them so, must be left to his own judgment to decide: but be that as it may, I have great pleasure in thinking, that in all I have said, both in his defence and justification, I am supported by the opinion of

bers. He was interred near the Appian way, at the fifth mile-stone, in the monument of his uncle Quintus Cecilius.

Though I intended to conclude what I had to say in the illustration of Atticus's character with the opinion of Sir William Temple, yet I cannot avoid subjoining to the authority of

Sir William Temple, who was a most excellent judge of men, a most virtuous statesman, and one of the most enlightened scholars of his age. His words are these, with which I will conclude the life of a man, which, from ita peculiar singularity and unparalleled honesty, will be more an object of admiration than of imitation. "Atticus appears," says Sir William Temple, " to have been one of the wisest and best of the Romans; learned without pretending; good without affectation, bountiful without design; a friend to all men in misfortunes, a flatterer to no man in power, a lover of mankind, and beloved by them all. By these virtues and dispositions, he passed, safe and untouched, through all the flames of civil dissentions that run over his country the greatest part of his life: and though he never entered into any public affairs, or particular factions of the state, yet he was favoured, honoured, and courted by them all, from Sylla to Augustus,"

that great man, some judicious observations made by Lady Mary Wortley Montague and Mrs Montague on the same subject, in corroboration of his opinion; two distinguished females, whose sentiments, considering the rank they hold in English literature, cannot fail of having great weight with all those who are able to estimate the value which good sense, improved by education, can give to a just delineation of character. Lady Mary, in a letter to her daughter, the Countess of Bute, thus expresses herself:-- "Atticus seems to have been the only Roman that, from good sense, had a true notion of the times in which he lived, in which the republic was inevitably perishing, and the two factions, who pretended to support it, equally endeavouring to gratify their ambition in its ruin. A wise man in that case would certainly declare for neither, and try to save himself and family from the general wreck; which could not be done but by a superiority of understanding acknowledged on both sides. I see no glory in losing life or fortune by being the dupe of either, and very much applaud that conduct which could preserve an universal esteem

amidst the fury of opposite parties. We are obliged to act vigorously, where action can do any good; but in a storm, when it is impossible to work with success, the best hands and ablest pilots may laudably gain the shore if they can.—Atticus could be a friend to men without awaking their resentment, and be satisfied with his own virtue without seeking popular fame: he had the reward of his wisdom in his tranquillity, and will ever stand among the few examples of true philosophy, either ancient or modern." Mrs Montague, who was a pupil of Dr Middleton, thus speaks of Atticus, in one of her letters to Mrs Donnellan:-" I have taken a great fancy to Cicero's friend Atticus. I love those virtues, which, like the peaceful olive, bloom in the shade. I admire the strength of some understandings, but I love the elegance of his. He assisted all parties in distress, followed none in the pursuits of ambition, so that he was neither prompted by interest to what he ought not, nor withheld by fear from what it was right Does it not exalt him in your opinion, that the conqueror of the world, in the pursuit of boundless power and greatness,

sent every day to know what was Atticus doing? Would not such a question to any other man in his closet have been the idlest of enquiries, as it would have brought the most frivolous of answers?"

Α

GENEALOGICAL ACCOUNT

FIRST FIVE EMPERORS OF ROME.

PART THIRD.

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GENEALOGICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

FAMILIES

OF

THE FIRST FIVE EMPERORS OF ROME

JULIA, the sister of Julius Cæsar, was married to Marcus Accius Balbus, by whom she had a daughter called Accia, or Attia, who

I Julia, the daughter of Caius Julius Cæsar and Aurelia: She and her brother the Dictator were both educated under the care of their mother, a woman of extraordinary talents and virtue, and who is mentioned by Tacitus, in his Dialogue of Oratory, amongst the venerable matrons who superintended the education of their illustrious issue. "Sic Cornelian Gracchorum, sic Aurelian Cæsaris, sic Attiam Augusti matrem præfuisse educationibus ac produxiase principes liberos accepimus."

was married to Caius Octavius, a man of senatorial rank, and had one son by him, called Octavius, born in the year of Rome 690, in the consulate of Marcus Tullius Cicero, and Caius Antonius Nepos. This Octavius, the great nephew and adopted son of Julius Cæsar, after the death of his uncle, declared himself his heir, and, with a decisive boldness of character, almost unparalleled in a youth of eighteen, assumed the names of Caius Ju-

² He was a man of an ancient equestrian family, of great abilities and worth, and was honoured with the title of *Imperator*.

³ Upon the minth of the kalends of October, a little before sun-rise, in the Ward of the Palatium, at the sign of the Ox-heads, where now stands a chapel dedicated to him, and built a little after his death.—Supremius.

⁴ Paterculus says, "that the birth of Augustus was an accession of glory to the consulship of Cicero;" to which he might have added, had he not lived in the reign of Tiberius, " and was the cause of Cicero's death in less than twenty years after."

⁵ The youth, with great spirit, declared, "that it would have been shameful for him to have appeared to think himself unworthy of a name, of which his uncle had deemed him worthy."—PATERCULUS.

The late Mr Pitt, whose character in many particulars resembled that of the young Octavius, appreciated properly the value of a name when he refused to accept-

lius Cæsar Octavianus: The venerable name of Augustus, by which he is better known in history, was not conferred on him until after the successful battle of Actium. His first wife was Servilia, the daughter of Servilius Isauricus, whom he divorced in compliance with the wishes of his army, and married Clodia, the daughter of Fulvia and Publius Clodius.

of any subordinate situation under the administration of Mr Fox. The country may, perhaps, have cause to regret the effects of his inordinate ambition, and blame their own folly in being made the dupes of it.

⁶ In 727, Octavius proposed in the senate to resign the government, but the senators conjured him to retain it; and then passed a decree, that he should in furture be called Augustus.

⁷ He was contracted, when very young, to the daughter of Publius Servilius Isauricus; but, upon his reconciliation with Antony after their first rupture, the anmies on both sides insisting on a closer alliance betwint them, he espoused Antony's step-daughter Clodia, or Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia by Publius Claudius, though at that time scarcely marriageable: and, upon a difference arising with his mother-in-law Fulvia, diminit intactem adduc et virginem.—Suetonius.

Fulvia was first the wife of Clodius, the enemy of Cicero; next of Curio, and then of Antony. Her conduct during the prescription has consigned her name to everlasting infamy. When the head of Cicero was sent

The army made this request for the express purpose of strengthening the connection between him and Antony by some tender alliance. At this time, it is to be considered, that Antony was married to Fulvia, whose first husband, Publius Clodius, had been killed by Milo. As his marriage with Clodia was an act of necessity more than choice, and as the haughty spirit of his mother-inlaw Fulvia could not longer be endured with any patience, he divorced her daughter with this solemn declaration, "That for him she was still a virgin." His third marriage9 was with Scribonia, the sister of Scribonius Libo. the father-in-law of Pompey; but as this alliance was chiefly an union of convenience.

her by Antony, she is said to have amused herself by running a bodkin through his tongue.

⁹ By this marriage Octavius hoped either to mediate a peace with Sextus Pompeius, or at least to be able to prevent his junction with Antony. Scribonia was aunt to the wife of Sextus Pompeius, and a favourite sister of Scribonius Libo, his father-in-law. Blackwell, in his Court of Augustus, says "she had been twice married to elderly gentlemen, and bore children to one of them." Octavius divorced Scribonia a year after his marriage, on the very day she was brought to bed of Julia.

and formed with the political view of diverting Sextus Pompeius from joining Antony, he divorced her to marry Livia, who was reckoned the most agreeable woman of her age. By his marriage with Scribonia, he had the princess Julia, so notorious for her crimes and misfortunes; who, though daughter to one emperor, and wife to another, consumed the last fifteen years of her life in a painful exile of misery and want. Livia, the wife of Claudius Tiberius Nero, when she gave her hand to the fortunate Octavianus, was in an ad-

¹ She was first married to Marcellus, secondly to Agrippa, by whom she had three sons, Caius and Lucius Cæsar, and Agrippa Posthumus. During the life of her two eldest sons, she became the wife of Tiberius; and, by the haughtiness of her carriage, made him feel that she thought him beneath her rank;—spreverat ut imparem are the words of Tacitus. On his accession to the empire, though he saw her destitute of every thing, he ordered her to be starved to death; concluding that, after a tedious exile in a solitary place, a lingering death in want and misery would pass unnoticed.

² Livia Drusilla, the daughter of Livius Drusus, who being proscribed after the battle of Philippi, as one of the friends of Brutus, put a period to his own existance.

after her nuptials, here a son named Drusus. Her eldest son had the name of his father Tiberius, and, after the death of Augustus, succeeded to the empire of the Roman world. Livia was artful and cruel; and the voice of Fame has ascribed to her not only the wisdom of her husband, but the dissimulation of her son. 4 Her ambition at last increased to such an inordinate excess, that the scrutinizing pen of history has strongly suspected

³ Enamoured of the graceful form and beauty of Livia, cupidine formæ, Augustus obliged her husband to resign her to his embraces. Whether she had consented to the change is uncertain; but the passion of the emperor was so ardent, that, without waiting till she was delivered of the fruit of her womb, he conveyed her, pregnant as she was, to his own house—penatibus wais.

^{4 &}quot;Sanctitate domus priscum ad morem, comis ultra quam antiquis feminis probatum, mater impotens, uxor facilis, et cum artibus mariti, simulatione filli bene composita." Such is the expressive language in which that first of historians delineates the wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius. Suetonius says, that Livia, to maintain her influence over her husband, used to procure him virgins from all parts to gratify his irregular passions.

her of having purchased the elevation of her own family to the purple, by the destruction of that of her husband.

The sudden and untimely death of Marcus Marcellus, 5 the accomplished son of Octavia, the sister of Augustus, bears hard on the ambitious spirit of Livia: he was the adopted son and beloved nephew of Augustus, the favourite of the Roman people, 6 and celebrated theme of Latian song. 7 After the lamented

⁵ Marcus Marcellus, the son of Claudius Marcellus, consul in 703, and of Octavia, the sister of Augustus.

⁶ A youth of great expectation, highly esteemed by his uncle, and generally considered as his successor in the empire:

[&]quot; Nec puer Iliacà quisquam de gente Latinos In tantum spe tollet avos."

⁷ Augustus paid distinguished honours to his memory, and Virgil has made him immortal. Bayle says, his eulogium is introduced with such exquisite skill into the Æneid, and turned in so wonderful a manner, that the most insensible reader must be affected by it. "Je l'ai lu," continues the same author, "plus de cent fois, et toujours avec des transports d'admiration!" The manner in which Octavia is said to have been affected at the words of Tu Marcellus eris is mentioned by no other author than him to whom the life of Virgil is ascribed, Donatus.

death of Marcellus, Augustus adonted Caius and Lucius Cæsar, the two eldest sons of Agrippa, and his daughter Julia; and declared them his successors in the empire. Their death is thus strongly marked by Tacitus: "Agrippa departed this life, and, in a short time after, his two sons were cut off: Lucius Cæsar. 8 on his road to join the army in Spain. and Caius on his return from Armenia, where he had received a wound that impaired his health. Whether they died by their own premature fate, or the machinations of their stepmother Livia, is to this day problematical." The grief of Augustus for the death of Caius was artfully converted, by the address of Livia, to the favourite schemes of her am-

⁸ Lucius and Caius Cæsar were adopted by Cæsar as his sons, styled Princes of the Roman Youth, and declared Consuls-elect: The former died at Marseilles, on his way to join the army in Spain, in 754; the latter in 757, at Limyra in Lycia.—By their death Augustus was blasted in all his hopes, and deprived of every prospect of future enjoyment in life. He died just ten years after the death of Caius, in the 76th year of his age, the same day in which he had entered on his first consulate, and in the same chamber wherein his father Octavius breathed his last.

bition; and the adoption of her son Tiberius? was the first fruit she reaped from the well-timed consolation and pity bestowed on her afflicted husband. The joy of Livia and her son would have been complete, had it not been allayed by the adoption of Agrippa Posthumus, the third son of Agrippa and Julia. In addition to this diminution of their joy, Augustus, at the same time, compelled Tiberius to adopt Germanicus, the son of his brother Drusus. The dark soul of Tiberius

⁹ He was adopted in 757; the year in which Caius Cæsar died after his return from Armenia.

¹ He was adopted in the same year with Tiberius.

Decimus Claudius Drusus was a youth of singular merit, who, before the age required by law, was raised to the highest honours of the state. The senate conferred the sirname of Germanicus on him and his posterity. Paterculus says he possessed as many and as great virtues as human nature admits, or industry can acquire, Horace commemorates his victory over the Vindelici in one of his finest odes, which is not inferior to any which remain of Pindar. It is the 4th Ode of the 4th Book, and begins thus: "Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem." He died at the age of thirty, between the Rhine and the Sala, deeply regretted by his soldiers, and lamented by every Roman. When his body, which had been accompanied by both Tiberius and Augustus, arrived in Rome, two funeral orations were pronounced by them over it,

was sorely disquieted to see an honour conferred upon a nephew, which was withheld. from. or denied to, his own son. However, disgrace and banishment soon followed the adoption of Agrippa Posthumus, "for Livia (says Tacitus,) had gained such unbounded influence over the affections of her aged husband, that this only surviving grandson3 of the emperor was banished to the isle of Planasia." 4 It was secretly whispered, that Augustus visited the unfortunate youth during his exile; and the fears and apprehensions which Livia conceived from an interview, where sorrow and affection were mutual, made her hasten the last moments of her expiring husband. Tacitus says, "that all proper measures were concerted with such deep dissimulation by Livia, that the same report which announced the death of Augustus, proclaimed Tiberius in possession of the supreme

³ Tacitus, in speaking of this young man, uses these words: "Rudem sane bonarum artium, et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius tamen flagitii compertum."

⁴ Planasia, or Planaria, because it lies level with the water, is a small island in the Tuscan sea, not far from Ilya or Elba. It is now called Pianasa.

power."⁵ The murder of Agrippa at once decided the complexion of the new reign. ⁶ As none of the immediate posterity of Augustus ever ascended the imperial throne, history directs us to the family of Marc Antony the Triumvir, who, in spite of all their various and multiplied misfortunes, gave three emperors to the Roman world.

In casting our eyes over the matrimonial roll of Anthony's wives, the name of the wicked Fulvia' disgraces his first connection: by the profligate widow of the more profligate Clodius he had two sons, Antyllus's and Julius Antonius; of whom the former, having opposed the arms of Octavianus, was taken

^{5 &}quot;Simul excessisse Augustum et rerum potiri Neronem fama eadem tulit," such is the energetic brevity of Tacitus.

⁶ Primum facinus novi Principatus fuit, Posthumi Agrippæ cædes.

⁷ Fulvia was first married to Publius Clodius Pulcher, whom Paterculus styles, "Malorum propositorum executor acerrimus." Her second husband was Marcus Curio, the firebrand of the civil war. Her third was Mark Antony, to whom, Blackwell thinks, she was twice married.

⁸ Plutarch says, Antyllus was the only one of Antony's children put to death.

prisoner, and put to death by that Triumvir's orders: an intrigue, with the princess Julia cost the latter his life. Anthony's second connection was of a more honourable description; he married the virtuous Octavia, the sister of Augustus, by whom he had two daughters, Antonia Major and Antonia Minor. The eldest was married to Lucius Do-

This intrigue of Julius Antonius with Julia gave much uneasiness to Augustus, who dreaded the consequence of a connection between a youth of high descent, graceful form, and daring ambition, and an unprincipled daughter. The dangerous nature of the connection was soon discovered; the son of Mark Antony was seized and put privately to death: and Julia banished to a desert rock in the Tuscan sea, situate between Pontia and Ischia, now called Santa Maria. Horace addresses his beautiful Ode, beginning with

[&]quot; Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari, Jule,"

⁻to this Julius Antonius-in which he celebrates him as no mean poet.

¹ Though slighted and divorced by her husband, she notwithstanding took the greatest care of his children.

² The eldest Antonia Major is called by Tacitus Antonia Minor, which makes it probable, says Arthur Murphy, that Mark Antony had a former daughter called Antonia by his wife Fulvia. Bayle agrees with Tacitus in calling her the younger; of course he gives the eldest, with all her virtues and accomplishments, to Drusus, who, from his rank and character, must have had

mitius Ahenobarbus, by whom she had Cneius Domitius, who, by his marriage with Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, became the father of Nero, one who, no less
than his three predecessors, polluted the imperial purple. In cruelty he surpassed his
father, and in profligacy his mother. The
lovely Antonia Minor, who inherited not
only the beauty, but the virtues of her mother, was married to the brave and generous
Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, by whom
she had two sons, Germanicus and the Em-

the choice of the two, and must, he thinks, have preferred the most beautiful, whether she was the eldest or not.

³ Blackwell, in his Court of Augustus, speaking of Antonia and Drusus, becomes quite eloquent in their praise, and says he never thinks of them but with veneration.—See Antonia's character well delineated in the Supplement to the 5th Book of Tacitus, at the time she discovers to Tiberius the designs of his minister. Valerius Maximus writes, that she surpassed the fame of the great men of her family, (virilem familia sua claritatem), and returned the affection of her husband with the strictest fidelity; for after his decease, though she was then in the flower of her age and beauty, she considered the chamber of her mother-in-law as a marriage, and in the same bed in which the vigour of his youth was extinguished, her widowhood grew old.

peror Claudius, of whom the one was the ornament, and the other the disgrace of human kind.⁴ The insidious Piso, at the secret instigation of Tiberius, and his mother, is strongly suspected of having communicated the slow-consuming poison, which deprived the mild and accomplished Germanicus of a life so dear to the Roman people. His death was a subject of long regret to all orders and ranks of men; ⁵ it was wept over and praised in the senate, by the unfeeling Tiberius, with all the imposing expressions of genuine sorrow. In the energetic language of Tacitus, he is made to say, "Defleo equidem filium

⁴ Claudius was, in his youth, so sluggish in body and mind, that his mother Antonia often declared he was an imperfect production.

⁵ Tacitus, in speaking of Germanicus, uses these words: "Juveni civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa a Tiberii sermone, vultu, adrogantibus et obscuris.

[&]quot;Indoluere exteræ nationes regesque: tanta illi comitas in socios, mansuetudo in hostes: visuque et auditu juxta venerabilis, cum magnitudinem et gravitatem summæ fortunæ retineret, invidiam et arrogantiam effugerat.

[&]quot;Sævam vim morbi augebat persuasio veneni a Pisone accepti." Germanicus died at Antioch in the 34th year of his age, having been poisoned, as was suspected, by Piso and his wife Plancina.

meum, semperque deflebo;" I indeed laments and must for ever lament, my son. His wife Agrippina, the second daughter of Agrippa and Julia, accompanied by her two children, Caius and Julia, with her eyes fixed on the ground, bearing in her arms the urn6 which contained the ashes of her husband, was received at Brundisium with the marks of the sincerest affliction. Through every town she passed, until she reached the precincts of Rome, tears and lamentations confessed the general sorrow. When she approached the capital of Roman grandeur, she was met by the Conscript Fathers, 7 the two consuls, and a mournful people, who all expressed the deepness and sincerity of their grief by sighs and lamentations. The stream of sorrow. which hitherto had flowed in gentle currents, swelled by such an accession of grief, run like a torrent through the imperial city. Nei-

^{6 &}quot;Postquam duobus cum liberis feralem urnam tenens egressa navi, defixit oculos; idem omnium genitus, neque discerneres proximos, alienos, virorum, feminarumve planctus; nisi quod comitatum Agrippinæ longo mærore fessum, obvii et recentes in dolore anteibant."

⁷ Consules et Senatus ac magna pars populi viam complevere, disjecti et ut cuique libitum flentes.

ther. Tiberius nor his mother appeared as broad on this melancholy occasion; and the common indulgence of history is unable to ascribe their absence to one generous or feeling motive. Agrippina lived long enough to experience the dark and cruel malice of Tiberius, which not even her death abated; for the tyrant attempted to vilify her character, and even to call in question her virtue; but, notwithstanding this insulting and impotent effort of his power, her character, without the graceful ornaments and tender softness of her own sex, must ever claim the esteem and re-

It does not appear from any record, that Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, attended this sad procession. She was probably prevented, says Tacitus, from attending by want of health, or the sensibility of a mother might be unequal to so severe a trial. To speak my own opinion, adds Tacitus, I am inclined to believe that nothing but the emperor and his mother could restrain her from the last human office to her son. If all three absented themselves, equal affliction might be inferred; and the uncle and grandmother might be supposed to find a precedent in the conduct of the mother.

⁹ Enimvero Tiberius fædissimis criminationibus exarsit, impudicitiam arguens, et Assinium Gallum adulterum, ejusque morte ad tædium vitæ compulsam. Sed Agrippina æqui impatiens, dominandi avida, virilibus curis feminarum vitia exuerat.—TACITUS.

spect of all who admire the magnanimum chastity of a Roman matron. Germanicus had by Agrippina nine children; Nero the eldest was banished to the island of Pontia, where, it is said, the young prince chose a voluntary death, as soon as he discovered the executioner entering his apartment, furnished with all the terrific instruments of torture and death. Drusus the second was shut up in the lower rooms of the palace, where the merciless Tiberius sentenced him to perish with hunger; and in that dreary solitude, the miserable youth, for the gloomy space of nine days, dragged on a wretched existence. 3—Caius the third, sirnamed Caligula, 4 suc-

This man displayed to view his instruments of death; and the young prince, terrified at the sight, put an end to his life.—Supplement to the sixth Book of Tacitus.

Putant Neronem ad voluntariam mortem coactum, cum ei carnifex quasi ex senatus auctoritate missos laqueos, et uncos ostentaret.—Suetonius.

² In ima parte Palatii.—SUETONIUS.

³ Drusus deinde exstinguitur, cum se miserandis alimentis, mandendo e cubili tomento, nonum ad diem detinuisset.—TACITUS.

⁴ Seneca says, Caligula was designed by nature to shew what the worst vices can do in the heighth of power.

ceeded Tiberius in the government; and, atter a furious domination of not four years. was assassinated by his tribune Chærea. Besides the three sons just enumerated, Germanicus had three others, who died in their infancy, and three daughters, of whom Agrippina,6 the mother of Nero, after a restless life, polluted with every species of crime, fell unlamented by the cruel hand of her unnatural son. Thus died the infamous Agrippina, daughter to Germanicus, grand-daughter to Agrippa, and great grand-daughter to Augustus; sister to one emperor (Caius Caligula), wife to another (Claudius), and mother to a third (Nero). Drusilla, the second daughter, gained, after her decease, a place in heaven among the celestial gods; and the unerring testimony of some Greek medals which have reached our times, bear the style and title of the goddess Drusilla. Such was the honour conferred on an incestuous sister, in the wild and frantic phrenzy of a brother's

⁶ Agrippina was married three times, first to Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, by whom she had *Nero*; secondly, to Passienus Crispus; and thirdly, to the emperor *Claudius*.

sorrow. The passion of Caligula for his sister after her death, was marked with as much weakness and insanity, as it had been with shame and infamy during her life. Livilla, commonly called Julia, was Germanicus's third and youngest daughter, whose marriage with Marcus Vinicius, the consul, is the only circumstance history has condescended to notice.

THE END.

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LIVES

01

CAIUS ASINIUS POLLIO,
MARCUS TERENTIUS VARRO.

AND

CNEIUS CORNELIUS GALLUS;

WITH

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY THE REV. EDWARD BERWICK.

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1814.

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THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE JOHN, EARL SPENCER,

KNIGHT OF THE GARTER, &c. &c. &c.

IMPRESSED with sentiments of respect, which he entertains in common with all who can appreciate such a character, the Editor considers himself happy in this public opportunity of expressing them. He conceives there is a peculiar propriety in dedicating the following Biographical Sketches to a Nobleman distinguished for true patriotism, for classical taste and literary acquirements, and who is allowed to possess the best private collection of books in Europe. Pollio, the sub-

ject of one of the sketches. was the most accomplished scholar of the age in which he lived, and was the first man who established a public library at Rome: and Terentius Varro, the most learned of the Romans, the subject of another, was his particular friend, whose statue alone, of all living men, was deemed worthy of a place in that library. To a mind so richly endowed. and so conversant with the most select treasures of literature, it is hoped this humble tribute from a lover of like studies, will not be considered unacceptable, though the Editor has not the honor of being personally known to his Lordship.

Esker, Lucan, November, 1814.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Editor offers to the Public, the three Biographical Sketches which he promised when he published his Lives of Messala Corvinus, and Pomponius Atticus—the success of which has been of such an encouraging nature, as to induce him to persevere in his original object. He is writing the Life of the first Scipio Africanus, whose character, without exception, is one of the greatest, either in ancient or modern history.

ERRATA.

Page 77, for Manucenorum, read Marrucinorum.

- 129, for 19th century, read 14th.
- 164, Note, add, "laborem" to the end of the line beginning Extremum, &c.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

CAIUS ASINIUS POLLIO.

Exultat animus, maximorum virorum Memoriam percurrens.

VAL, MAX.

Statesman, yet friend to truth, of soul sincere, In action faithful, and in honor clear; Who broke no promise, serv'd no private end, Who gain'd no title, and who lost no friend: Ennobled by himself, by all approv'd, And prais'd, unenvied, by the Muse he lov'd.

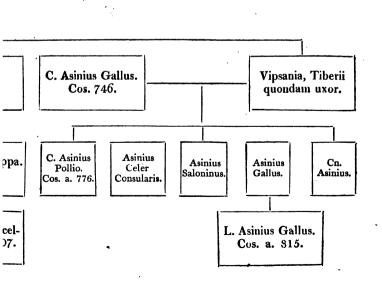
POPE.





citi Editorem.

arrucinus.



MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

CAIUS ASINIUS POLLIO.

IN writing the life, or rather in collecting materials to serve for a life, of the most accomplished man of the Augustan age, of one whose name will live as long as good poetry and good sense are held in estimation by mankind, it is a matter not unworthy of observation, that the only means left us for ascertaining the year in which Asinius Pollio was born, arises from our knowing the year of his death, and his age at the time of it. He died, according to the

¹ Had birth-day odes been as much the fashion amongst the Romans as they are with us, we should not have been obliged to have had recourse to the day of Pollio's death to ascertain that of his birth; for, from his character, influence, and fortune, he must have been quite cloyed with them.

Eusebian² Chronicle, at his Tusculan villa, in the year of Rome 755, at the advanced age of fourscore; and consequently, if that date can be relied on, was born in the year 675, when Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Quintus Lutatius Catulus were consuls, a year distinguished in the Roman calendar by the death of Sylla. As the day of his birth is unnoticed in history, so is every circumstance relative to his early youth and education, except the incidental one which may be gathered from Suetonius in his treatise of famous grammarians, who says he had Ateius for his instructor, a man who acquired great celebrity in his profession, by having the distinguished historian Sallust as a pupil with Pollio. Exclusive of this casual circumstance. I find the name of Pollio not once mentioned in history till the year 709, in which we are informed that he held a considerable rank in the army, and was actively engaged with Cæsar after his passing the Rubicon, previous to which he³

² Pollio Asinius orator et consularis, qui de Dalmatis triumphavit LXXX ætatis suæ anno in villâ Tusculanâ moritur: nervosæ virilitatis haud parvum exemplum.

^{3 &}quot;Cæsar was so fully sensible of the consequences which might ensue from what he was going to do, that he halted on the bank of the river, and turning towards his friends,

was one of the council who were summoned on the occasion of his taking that decisive and desperate measure. Both Plutarch and Appion notice his holding a separate command, during which he conveyed to Messana in Sicily some troops, of which when Cato was informed, he instantly dispatched to him a messenger, "to enquire by whose authority, whether of the senate or people, he had landed in his province." To which Pollio returned this answer, "that what he had done, was by the authority of him who was master in Sicily." Whilst Cæsar lived, he continued firmly attached to his interests, and in his African war, we learn from Plutarch, that he was most essentially served by Pollio, in suspending the flight of his men when surprised by Scipio4. On many trying

among whom was the famous A. Pollio, said to them, "We may yet go back, but if we pass over this little bridge, we commit every thing to the decision of arms."—ROLLIN. Rom. Hist.

Plutarch has given us a very natural description of his feelings on the occasion.—Life of Jul. Casar.

⁴ This was Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio: he had a command under Pompey at the battle of Pharsalia, and after Pompey's death renewed the war in Africa. On heing defeated by Cæsar near Thapsus, he attempted to

occasions he displayed such a degree of gallantrv. as acquired and secured to him the dictator's favour. Of his services and attachment Cæsar was so sensible, that a short time previous to his death, he made him governour of the farther Spain's, from which he wrote three epistles to Cicero, which fortunately still are extant, and serve to throw a light on the early part of his character. These letters were written from Corduba in Spain, about the months of April, May, and June, all within a short time of each other, in 710, the year subsequent to the death of Cæsar. In giving them to the public. I shall make use of the incomparable translation of Melmoth, who speaks of the writer of them in the following just and appropriate terms of praise: "Asinius Pollio was in every respect one of the most accomplished persons among his contemporaries. His extensive genius was equal to all the nobler branches of polite literature, and gave the most applauded proofs of his

escape into Spain, but when overtaken by some of Cæsar's ships, slew himself, behaving in his last moments, says Hooke, with the greatest magnanimity.

⁵ To which situation he was specially appointed to watch the motions of Sextus Pompeius.

talents as a poet, orator, and an historian. He united the most lively and pleasing vein of wit and pleasantry with all that strength and solidity of understanding which is necessary to render a man of weight in the more serious and important occasions of life: in allusion to which uncommon assemblage of qualities it was said of him, that he was a man omnium horarum."

"You must not wonder," says Pollio to Cicero, "that you have heard nothing from me in relation to public affairs since the breaking out of the war. Our couriers have always found it difficult to pass unmolested through the forest of Castulo⁶: but it is now more than ever infested with robbers. These banditti, however, are by no means the principal obstruction to our intercourse with Rome; as the mails⁷ are perpetually searched and detained by the soldiers, that are posted for that purpose by both

⁶ Castulo, a city anciently of great note, situate on the river Bœtis. The Saltus Castulonensis is mentioned by Livy: "Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad Saltum Castulonensem progressus est."

⁷ Tabellarii—Messengers, commonly slaves, by whom the Romans sent their letters, as they had no established posts. Sometimes there was an inscription on the outside of the letter, sometimes not.

parties in every part of the country. Accordingly, if I had not received letters by a ship which lately arrived in the river, I should have been utterly ignorant of what has been lately transacted in your part of the world. But now that a communication by sea is thus opened between us, I shall frequently and with great pleasure, embrace the opportunity of corresponding with you. Believe me, there is no danger of my being influenced by the persuasions of the person⁸ you mention; he is far

Hooke in his Roman History, makes here a vague conjecture, and says, Perhaps it was Cato, as Pollio had early distinguished himself by a public impeachment of that eminent man. Why Cato is mentioned, I don't know; for the eminent man of that name had fallen at Utica three years before the date of this letter. Besides, the Cato impeached by Pollio was Caius Cato, a turbulent

⁸ Antony, as Manutius conjectures; though some of the commentators, with greater probability, suppose that he means Lepidus, and with them I agree; for it is hardly conceivable that Pollio should at this time have expressed himself in such unequivocally hostile language of a man whose cause he so shortly after espoused. Besides, in another letter to Cicero, written in a few weeks after, he seems to fear that the known friendship he had with Antony, would give his enemies an occasion of misrepresenting his intentions.

from being detested to that degree which I know he deserves, and I have so strong an aversion to the man, that I would upon no consideration bear a part in any measure wherein he is concerned. Inclined both by my temper and my studies to be the friend of tranquillity and freedom. I frequently and bitterly lamented our late unhappy civil wars. But as the formidable enemies which I had among both parties, rendered it altogether unsafe for me to remain neuter, so I would not take up arms on that side where I knew I should be perpetually exposed to the insidious arts of my capital adversary. But though my inclinations were not with the party I joined, my spirit however would not suffer me to stand undistinguished among them, in consequence of which I was forward to engage in all dangers of the cause I had espoused. With respect to Cæsar himself, I will confess that I loved him with the highest and most inviolable affection: as indeed I had reason. For notwithstanding his acquaintance with me commenced so late as when he was in the heighth of his

tribune, and not him whom Juvenal describes as having dropt from heaven:

A cœlo cecidit Cato.

power, yet he admitted me into the same share of his friendship, as if I had been in the number of those with whom he had lived in the longest intimacy. Nevertheless, as often as I was at liberty to follow my own sentiments, I endeavoured that my conduct should be such as every honest man must approve, and whenever I was obliged to execute the orders I received, it was in a manner that evidently discovered how much my actions were at variance with my heart. The unjust odium however that I incurred by these unavoidable compliances, might well teach me the true value of liberty, and how wretched a condition it is to live under the government of a despotic power9. If any attempts therefore are carrying on to reduce us a second time under the dominion of a single person, whoever that single person may be, I declare myself his irreconcileable enemy. The truth is, there is no danger so great that I would not cheerfully hazard for the support of

⁹ Whatever were Pollio's real sentiments at the time of writing this letter, it is difficult to say: but his subsequent conduct was not at all answerable to them; for he joined Antony shortly after, and by this step contributed greatly to fix and perpetuate the whole power of the state in the hands of a single person.

our common liberties. But the consuls have not thought proper to signify to me, either by any decree of the senate, or by their private letters, in what manner I should act in the present conjuncture. I have received indeed only one letter from Pansa since the ides of March 10. by which he advised me to assure the senate, that I was ready to employ the forces under my command in any service they should require. But this would have been a very imprudent declaration at a time when Lepidus' had professed in his public speeches, as well as in the letters he wrote to his friends, that he concurred in Antony's measures. For could I possibly without the consent of the former, find means to subsist my army in their march through his provinces? But granting that I could have surmounted this difficulty, I must have conquered another and a still greater, as nothing less than a pair of wings could have rendered it practicable for me to have crossed the Alps, whilst every pass was guarded by the troops of

¹º Since the 15th of March, 709.

Lepidus was at this time at the head of a considerable army in the Narbonensian Gaul, which Czsar had annound to that part of Spain which lay nearest to Italy.

Lepidus. Add to this, that I could not convey any dispatches to Rome; as the couriers were not only exposed in a thousand different places to the danger of being plundered, but were detained likewise by the express orders of Lepidus. It is well known, however, that I publicly declared at Corduba, that it was my resolution not to resign this province into any other hands than those which the senate should appoint2: not to mention how strenuously I withstood all the applications that were made to me for parting with the thirtieth legion. I could not indeed have given it up, without depriving myself of a very considerable strength for the defence of the republic; as there are no troops in the whole world that are animated with a braver or more martial spirit than those of which that legion is composed. Upon the whole, I hope you will do me the justice to believe, in the first place, that I am extremely desirous of preserving the public tranquillity, as there is nothing I more sincerely wish than the safety of all my fellow-citizens; and in the next place, that I am determined to vindicate my own and my

² Pollio could not by words have given more singular proofs of his seal for what Cicero called the republic.

country's rights. It gives me greater satisfaction than you can well imagine, that you admit my friend into a share of your intimacy. Shall I own, nevertheless, that I cannot think of him as the companion of your walks, and as bearing a part in the pleasantry of your conversation, without feeling some emotions of envy? This is a privilege, believe me, which I infinitely value, as you shall most assuredly experience, by my devoting the whole of my time to your company, if ever we should live to see peace restored to the republic.

"I am much surprised you did not mention in your letter, whether it would be most satisfactory to the senate that I should remain in this province, or march into Italy. If I were to consider only my own ease and safety, I should certainly continue here; but as in the present conjuncture the republic has more occasion for legions than provinces (especially as the loss of the latter may with greater ease be recovered), I have determined to move towards Italy with my troops. For the rest, I refer you to the

³ Who this friend was, is not known. Middleton, in his Life of Cicero, says it was Gallus; but assigns no reason for his opinion.

letter I have written to Pansa, a copy of which I herewith transmit to you."

The following extract is taken from a letter written by Pollio to Cicero about a month after the preceding: "I should be glad the senate would determine in what manner they would have me act. I am at the head of three brave legions, one of which Antony took great pains to draw over to his interest at the commencement of the war. For this purpose he caused it to be signified to them, that the very first day they should enter into his camp, every soldier should receive five hundred denarii4: besides which he also assured them, that if he obtained the victory, they should receive an equal share of the spoils with his own troops: a reward which all the world knows would have been without end or measure. The promises made a deep impression upon them; and it was with great difficulty I kept them from deserting. I should not have been able indeed to have effected this, if I had not cantoned them in distant quarters; as some of the cohorts, notwithstanding they were thus separated, had the insolence to mutiny. Antony endeavoured likewise to gain

⁴ About 14 & sterling each man.

the rest of the legions by immense offers. Nor was Lepidus less importunate with me to send him the thirtieth legion; which he solicited both by his own letters, and by those which he caused Antony to write. The senate will do me the justice therefore to believe, as no advantage could tempt me to sell my troops, nor any dangers which I had reason to apprehend if Antony and Lepidus should prove conquerors, could prevail with me to diminish their numbers, that I was thus tenacious of my army for no other purpose but to employ it in the service of the republic. And let the readiness with which I have obeyed all the orders I received from the senate, be a proof that I would have complied in the same manner with every other they should have thought proper to have sent me. I have preserved the tranquillity of this province; I have maintained my authority over the army; and have never once moved beyond the limits of my own jurisdiction: I must add likewise, that I have never employed any soldier either of my own troops, or those of my auxiliaries, in carrying any dispatches whatsoever: and I have constantly punished such of my cavalry whom I have found at any time attempting to desert. I shall think these cares sufficiently rewarded in seeing the peace and security of the republic restored. But if the majority of the senate, and the commonwealth indeed in general, had known me for what I am⁵, I should have been able to have rendered them much more important services.

"I have sent you a copy of the letter which I wrote to Balbus just before he left this province; and if you have any curiosity to read his play⁶, it is in the hands of my friend Gallus Cornelius, to whom you may apply for it."

The third and last letter which remains of Pollio to Cicero, was written subsequent to the preceding, after hearing of Antony's total discomfiture at Mutina, which took place about the latter end of April, 710.

⁵ From this part of his letter it is evident that the republican party had not confidence in him; consequently their suspicion might have hurt the feelings of a high-spirited man, and abated a zeal which, if properly fanned, might have been turned to their account.

⁶ The play in question was written by Balbus, and not by Pollio, as Blackwell thinks. Balbus caused the play to be acted at the public games, and it was written on the subject of his embassy to Lucius Lentulus, the proconsul. It was that species of entertainment which was called *pretexta*, in which *pretextati viri*, or magistrates of Rome, were the only dramatis persons.

"It is owing to Lepidus, who detained my couriers above a week, that I did not receive earlier advice of the several actions near Mutina: though indeed I should be glad to have been the last that was informed of the unhappy news, if it were utterly out of my power to be of any assistance in redressing its consequences. I wish the senate had ordered me into Italy when they sent for Plancus and Lepidus: for if I had been present, the republic would not have received this cruel wound. And though some perhaps may rejoice in this event, from the great number of principal officers and veteran soldiers of the Cæsarian party who have perished, yet they will undoubtedly find reason to

This ode was written about twelve years after the date of Pollio's letter.

⁷ Lucius Munatius Plancus was proconsul of Gallia Major; he was one of the most considerable men of his time during the civil wars; but whatever consequence he had, he lost it by the fickleness and treachery of his subsequent conduct. Horace has addressed one of his beautiful odes to him, which will give him eternal celebrity. It begins with "Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon," &c.

⁻⁻⁻Sic tu sapiens finire memento Tristitiam, vitæque labores Molli, Plance, mero.

lament it, when they shall be sensible of the terrible desolation it has brought upon the country. For if what is related concerning the number of the slain be in any degree true, the flower and strength of our armies is entirely cut off. I was well aware of the great advantage it would have proved to the republic, if I could have joined Lepidus8: as I should have been able, and especially with the assistance of Plancus, to have dissipated those doubts which occasioned his delay in declaring for the senate. But the letters which I received from him being written (as you will perceive by the copies I herewith transmit) in the same spirit with his speeches, which it is said he made to his army at Narbo, I found it necessary to act with some sort of artifice towards him, if I hoped to obtain leave to march my troops through his province. I was apprehensive likewise, if an en-

⁸ Lepidus, who was proconsul of Gallia Narbonenses; and Citerior Spain, joined Antony in the latter end of May, about a month after his rout at Mutina: he was a man of much ambition, but little genius; "a barrenspirited fellow, who only fed on abject orts and imitations;" one whom Antony only considered as a property: his superior station in life arose solely from the extraordinary circumstances of the times in which he lived.

gagement should happen before I could execute my designs, that the known friendship I had with Antony9, though not superior indeed to that which Pansa entertained for him, would give my enemies an occasion of misrepresenting my intentions. For these reasons I dispatched two couriers from Gades in the month of April by two different ships, with letters not only to you and to Octavius, but to the consuls also, requesting to be informed in what manner my services might most avail the republic. But if I am right in my calculation, these ships did not sail till the very day on which the battle was fought between Pansa and Antony: as that was the soonest. I think, since the winter, that these seas were navigable.

"To these reasons for not marching, I must add, that I had so little apprehension of this civil war, that I settled the winter quarters of my troops in the very remotest parts of Lusitania. Both armies, it should seem, were as eager to

⁹ Polito, from his situation as proconsul of Ulterior Spain, was too remote to be engaged, says Rollin, in the centre of affairs, which of course were to be decided without him; but that he might not remain useless, he thought himself obliged, from previous connection with Antony, to join his standard.

come to an action, as if their greatest fears on each side were, lest some less destructive expedient might be found of composing our disturbances. However, if circumstances required so much precipitation, I must do Hirtius the justice to acknowledge, that he conducted himself with all the skill and courage of a consummate general.

"I am informed by my letters from that part of Gaul which is under the command of Lepidus, that Pansa's whole army is cut to pieces, and that himself is since dead of his wounds. They add, that the martial legion is entirely destroyed, and that Lucius Fabatus, Caius Peducæus, and Decius Carfulenus, are among the number of the slain. My intelligence farther assures me, that in the subsequent attack by Hirtius, both he and Antony lost all their legions: that the fourth legion, after having taken Antony's camp, was engaged and defeated by the fifth with terrible slaughter: that Hirtius', together with Pontius Aquila, and as

on Cicero's management of affairs; added to which we may say, that the whole style of the letter could not have been very agreeable to him.

Hirtius was made consul with Pansa, to both of whom

it is reported, Octavius² likewise, were killed in the action. If this should prove true (which the gods forbid), I shall be very greatly concerned. My advices farther import, that Antony has with great disgrace abandoned the siege of Mutina; however, that he has three complete regiments of horse still remaining, together with one which belongs to Publius Bagiennus, as also a considerable number of disarmed soldiers; that Ventidius has joined him with the seventh, the eighth and the ninth legions; and that Antony is determined, if there should be no hopes of gaining Lepidus³, to have recourse to the last

was committed by the senate the management of the war against Antony, in conjunction with the young Octavius. Though victory crowned their arms at Mutina, they both died of the wounds received in the battle, at a very unseasonable conjuncture, says Cicero, after discharging their office to the republic with great advantage.

² The report of Octavius being slain in the battle, gives some colour to Antony's reproach, who said, that he fled from, or disappeared for three days after it.

³ In a letter written about this time by Decimus Brutus to Cicero, he says: "As I suppose you see clearly the measures which Pollio will pursue, I need say nothing to you upon that article. But I make it my first and principal request, that you will send to Lepidus, in order, if possible, to prevent that light and inconstant man from

expedient, and arm not only the provincials but the slaves: in fine, that Lucius Antonius, after having plundered the city of Parma, has posted himself upon the Alps. If these several particulars are true, there is no time to be lost; and every man who wishes that the republic, or even the name of the Roman people may subsist, should immediately, without waiting for the express orders of the senate, contribute his utmost assistance to extinguish these dreadful flames. I hear that Decimus Brutus is at the head of only seventeen cohorts, together with two incomplete legions of new-raised troops which had been levied by Antony. I doubt not, however, that the remains of the forces commanded by Hirtius will join him. I hope so at least, as there is little, I think, to be expected from any new recruits that may be raised; especially since nothing can be more dangerous than to give Antony time to recover strength.

renewing the war by joining with Antony, as both Lepidus and Pollio are at the head of a very numerous and powerful army." In another letter, the same writer notices " certain papers which had fallen into his heads belonging to Antony, wherein there was a list of the several persons whom he intended to employ as mediators in his behalf with Pollio, Lepidus, and Plancus."

"My next letters from Italy will determine the plan of my operations, and as the corn is now cut down, and partly carried in, I shall be more at liberty to execute them without obstruction from the season of the year. In the mean time, let me assure you, that I will neither desert, nor survive the republic. It is a misfortune, however, that my distance from the some of action is so great, and the roads so infested, that it is often six weeks, and sometimes more, ere I can be informed of any event that has happened."

No date is fixed to this last letter of Pollio's; but from taking into consideration the date of the battle of Mutina, and what the writer says relative to the delay of the couriers, it must have been written in June.

The judicious writer whose translation I have made use of in conveying to the English reader Pollio's ideas in the aforesaid epistles, "regrets that a character which was so truly brilliant on the intellectual side, should shine with less lustre in a moral view; and that in taking a part with Cæsar against Pompey, private considera-

^{4 &}quot;Num neque decese, neque superesse respublice volo!" are the words of Pollio.

tions were of more force with him than the public utility, and determined him to support a cause which his heart condemned." From the said letters I think it may be fairly inferred, that the writer was in his heart well-affected to the republic; and from the natural rectitude and candor of his disposition, it may be also inferred, that what he says in his letters was true. event of an extraordinary nature had lately taken place at Rome, for which he was unprepared: his friend and patron had been assassinated in the senate, for whom he had the greatest esteem, and to whom he owed the warmest gratitude. for having admitted him almost on the first acquaintance to a place in his inmost affections⁵. Having lost him, he lost that proud and flattering support of arbitrary power, which had not only fixed his allegiance to the dominion of one man, but in some measure reconciled him to it; the consequence was, that his political views,

⁵ Cæsarem vero, quod me in tantâ fortunâ, modo cognitum, vetustissimorum familiarium loco habuit, dilexi summâ cum pietatê et fidê, &c.—Pollio-Cicroni.— In truth, Cæsar's extreme affability and captivating manners, his unbounded munificence, and splendid style of living, were qualities which attracted universal admiration.

which were originally republican, assumed their first complexion, and continued so, until he found that the several interests and objects of the chief men were become so predominant, multiplied and corrupt, and the hopes of restoring the power of the senate and republic so hopeless, that it was necessary for him to join one party or the other: unfortunately for the interests of his country, he took the part of its enemies, by making a surrender to Antony of whatever troops he commanded.

This reinforcement, added to what he had received from Plancus and Lepidus, soon gave a decided superiority to the anti-republican cause, which laid the foundation of the peace of Brun-

ANTONY and CLEOPATEA.

⁶ Asinius autem Pollio firmus proposito, et Julianis partibus fidus, Pompeianis adversus, exercitum tradidit Antônio.—V. Pater. 2, l. c. 63, 64.

Few men were more beloved by their friends than Antony, many of whose actions displayed a generosity of disposition which raised him far above his more prudent rival, the cold and crafty Octavius.

Mark Antony I serv'd, who best was worthy, Best to be serv'd; whilst he stood up and spoke, He was my master, and I wore a life To spend upon his haters.

disium, and altimately of the entire destruction of the commonwealth. Though by this junction with Antony, Pollio had contributed greatly to crush the liberty of his country, yet he seems to have retained a proud spirit of freedom which, says Tacitus, he transmitted to his son. Had the author of the Court of Augustus well considered the nature of the legacy bequeathed, and the force of the expression (ferocia) used to denominate it by a writer like Tacitus, and applied to a man like Pollio, he probably might have been more indulgent to his moral and political character, and have treated with more respect a man who was able, (after engaging in such a desperate conflict of contending parties. and raging factions, wherein seemed to be destroyed almost every feeling of liberty and humanity) to retain any spark whatever of public virtue: and had not the first of historians thought that Pollio's conduct merited such a mark of regard, he would not have paid it at the expence of truth.

The two following circumstances serve in some respect to prove that Pollio kept alive in a most despotic court, a few sparks of public liberty; for it appears when Augustus called on certain persons of rank, each according to his

fortune, to adom the city with public edifices, he repaired the Atrium Libertatis, which stood upon Mount Aventine, and which, from having been totally abandoned by the goddess to whom it was erected, and by all her votaries, must have fallen into sad decay. To this may be added, as a further proof of Pollio's independent spirit, that Augustus ordered a cessation of the Trojan games, of which he was particularly fond, in consequence of the bold and sharp remonstrance which Pollio made in the senate against their continuation; and the only reason assigned for his dislike of them was, his grandson's having broken his leg in them.

But to return to the learned author of the Court of Augustus, though he is highly indignant at the part taken by Pollio in the civil wars, yet in the course of his Memoirs, whenever he brings his character individually under his dispassionate consideration, he speaks of it as being upright and unblemished. It is true, Pollio had acted under Pompey, Cæsar and Antony; and consequently was not actuated by that uniform spirit of pure patriotism which used to

⁷ Sueton. Aug. c. 29.

⁶ Sueton. Aug. 43.

animate those heroes who made the welfare of mankind their care: but at the same time let us not forget, that during all the time he bore a military command, he behaved with great honour and gallantry as a soldier, and was so beloved by his army, that on no occasion did they ever desert him. In allusion to this, Blackwell observes with some malignity, "that he was a thorow soldier, and resolute to make a fortune, cost what it would; and that having great opportunities of doing it, he never lost the use which was to be made of them." When we consider the distracted state of the times, the conspicuous part borne in them by Pollio, the numberless forfeitures which were the natural effects of them, and above all, the success which finally attended the fortunes of his friends; when, I say, we consider the force of all these combined causes operating together, we need not be surprised at the great accession of property which attached to him. But to his credit let it not be forgotten, that whatever fortune he amassed, was converted to the most honourable uses, and the encouragement of learning and literary talents was among its richest fruits. In 714 Pollio was appointed consul along with Cneius Domitius, in which year, by his mediation on the part of Antony, and by that of Mæcenas on the part of Cæsar, a war was prevented and a peace concluded between the rival chiefs at Brundisium; some of the circumstances of which are alluded to by Horace in his account of his journey thither, and which is told with such inimitable pleasantry in the fifth satyr of his first book. In the year that followed his consulship, an insurrection broke out in Dalmatia, a province which was allotted to Antony in the late distribution of the empire. By Antony's consent, if not express orders, Pollio led the army he had commanded for five years to quell it. On landing in Dalmatia, he dispersed and defeated the enemy wherever he met them; laid siege to their capital city Salona9, which he took, and after stripping the inhabitants of what they possessed, returned triumphant to Rome in the end of the year 715 10.

This triumph closed his military career, after which devoting his whole time to literary repose,

^{. 9} Hence the name of his second son, Asinius Saloninus.

¹⁰ Cui laurus æternos honores

Dalmatico peperit triumpho. Horace.

During this expedition, Virgil addressed to Pollio one of his most beautiful eclogues, the *Pharmaceutria*, an imitation of one with the same title in Theocritus.—WARTON.

he took no active part whatever in public concerns: the cause of his friend Antony, which he had not only upheld by character but conduct, began to decline in proportion as his infatuated passion for Cleopatra increased, till at last it sunk to such a low ebb of public infamy, as made it unfit to be even countenanced by any man of good character: and yet notwithstanding. Pollio refused taking any part with Au. gustus, to whose application for accompanying him to the Actian war, he made the following memorable reply: " I have done more for Antony than he has rewarded me for, but his favours are better known than the services I have done him. Settle your differences without me. I shall withdraw from the conflict, and become the spoil of the conqueror." This refusal, however. on the part of Pollio, did not prevent his enjoying a share in the good graces of Augustus,

Mon pratereatur Asinii Pollionis factum et dictum memorabile; namque cum se post Brundusinam pacem continuisset in Italia, neque aut vidisset unquam reginam, aut post enervatum amore ejus Antonii animum, partibus ejus se miscuisset rogante Casare, ut secum ad bellum proficisceretur Actiacum "Mea, inquit in Antonium majora merita sunt, illius in me beneficia notiora; itaque discrimine vestro me subtraham, et ero præda victoris."—V. Paterculus.

whose dispositions he assisted in moulding and forming to a right administration of a world which his inordinate ambition had so violently abused.

We have now to consider Pollio in his retirement, which no man was ever capable of enjoying with greater dignity, or relishing with more genuine taste; for he possessed almost every thing to render his retreat delicious, an excellent education, superior talents, a great knowledge of mankind, a splendid fortune, and friends who must ever be considered as the enlightened ornaments not only of the age in which they lived, but of every succeeding one.

Next rising morn with double joy we greet², When we with Plotius³, Varius⁴, Virgil⁵, meet,

Postera lux oritur multo gratissima: namque
Plotius et Varius Sinuessæ, Virgiliusque
Occurrent; anima quales neque candidiores
Terra tulit: neque queis me sit devinctior alter.
O, qui complexus, et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico.

Horace, l. 1, Sat. 5.

³ Virgil is said to have made Plotius Tucca and Quintus Varius his heirs, and to have committed to them the charge of revising and correcting his Æneid.

⁴ Of Varius, Horace says:
——Fortè epos acer
Ut nemo, Varius ducit.

⁵ And of Virgil:
——Molle atque facetum
Virgilio annuerunt gaudenter rure camena

Pure spirits those, the world no purer knows,
For none my heart with such affection glows:
How oft did we embrace! our joys how great!
Is there a blessing in the power of Fate,
To be compared in sanity of mind,
To friends of such companionable kind?

Yet in this retirement, illustrious as it must have been from all the splendid circumstances that graced it, I fear there were certain soothing appendages wanting, which might have gilded its most irksome moments (of which no retirement is entirely devoid), and which are well enumerated among Thomson's requisites for a happy life:

An elegant sufficiency, content, Retirement, rural quiet, friendship, books, Progressive virtue, and approving Heaven.

In consequence of Pollio's triumph over the Dalmatians, which has been noticed before, Horace inscribes to him one of his most beautiful odes, of which, as it serves to illustrate his character, certain passages shall be laid before the reader, though to few of them the ode itself can be unknown. The poet notices the multiplicity of business in which Pollio was engaged, and seems to convey a hint, that it was of such a delicate nature as would require his utmost attention. For in the first place, he had under-

taken an history of the civil wars, of the extreme danger attending which, Horace apprises him, by saying, "You are treading upon fires that are concealed under deceitful ashes, and attempting a work full of perilous hazardry." Next he alludes to his business in the forum and senate in the following words, which I copy from Francis:

O Pollio, thou the grand defence of Of sad impleaded innocence.

On whom to weigh the grand debate, In deep consult the fathers wait.

After this the poet says, that whilst he had such important matters on which to employ his time, he was engaged in writing a tragedy. In consideration of all this, Horace advises him to quit every other pursuit, yea, even to forego the muse who presides over tragedy, and devote himself to his historical work alone: at the same time premising, that as soon as he had finished his account of the civil wars, he might then return to that species of writing of which he was so fond, and in which he excelled, and resume

HORACE, Od. 1, l. 9.

⁶ Insigne moestis presidium reis, Et consulenti Pollio curiæ.

his grand employment, of composing tragedies, in the dignified style of Sophocles. As a tragic writer, Pollio is extolled by the same poet:

Pollio, the deeds of warlike kings, In trimeter iambics sings.

To the same excellence in composing tragedies, Virgil alludes in the following lines, which are thus translated by Dryden, though they are not such as do sufficient justice to the eminently beautiful original:

Great Pollio, thou for whom thy Rome prepares?
The ready triumph of thy finished wars:

Trimeter iambics had been introduced among the Romans long before the time of Horace, and were become the appropriate metre to dramatic pieces.

⁹ Virgil, Ecl. 8.

Tu mihi, seu magni superas jam saxa Timavi, Sive oram Illyrici legis æquoris: en erit unquam-Ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta. En erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem

⁷ His grande Munus, which some apply to the work of his history, but which from the context is more applicable to that of his tragedies.

Facta canit pede ter percusso.

Whether Timavus or th' Illyrian coast,
Whatever land or sea thy presence boast:
Is there an hour in fate reserved for me,
To sing thy deeds in numbers worthy thee?
In numbers like to thine, could I rehearse
Thy lofty tragic scenes, thy labour'd verse,
The world another Sophocles in thee,
Another Homer should behold in me,
Amidst thy laurels let this ivy twine,
Thine was my earliest muse, my latest shall be thine.

In his third eclogue 10, entitled Palæmon, wherein two shepherds are introduced contend-

Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno:

A te principium, tibi desinet: accipe jussis

Carmina cœpta tuis, atque hanc sine tempora circum.

Inter victrices hederam tibi serpere lauros.

Of the above beautiful passage Warton gives the following spirited version:

O Pollio! leading thy victorious bands
O'er deep Timavus or Illyria's sands;
O! when thy glorious deeds shall I rehearse,
When tell the world how matchless is thy verse,
Worthy the lofty stage of laurell'd Greece,
Great rival of majestic Sophocles:
With thee began my songs, with thee shall end
The strain thyself commended. O attend!
And mid the laurels which thy brows entwine,
Admit this humble ivy wreath of mine.

Mantua was under the immediate government of Pollio,

ing which has most skill in poetry, Pollio is thus noticed by them:

DAMÆTAS.

Pollio, my rural verse vouchsafes to read , A heifer muses for your patron feed.

MENALCAS.

My Pollio writes himself—a bullock bred², With spurning heels, and with a butting head.

DAMETAS.

Who Pollio loves, and who his muse admires³, Let Pollio's fortune crown his full desires; Let myrrh instead of thorn his fences fill, And showers of honey from his oaks distil.

When the lands of Mantua were divided among the veteran soldiers in the year 711, after the battle of Philippi, Pollio had at that time the government of the Cisalpine Gaul, to which was annexed the districts of Mantua and Cremona. The consequences arising from this division of for-

who alone of all the great men is celebrated in it, and celebrated not only as being the patron of letters and the author, but as a poet himself.

Pollio amat nostram, quamvis est rustica, Musam, Pierides, vitulam lectori pascite vestro.

Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina, pascite taurum, Jam cornu petat, et pedibus qui spargat arenam.

³ Qui te, Pollio, amat, veniat, quo te quoque gaudet, Mella fluant illi, ferat et rubus asper amomum.

feited lands caused numbers of the dispossessed inhabitants to go to Rome, either in hopes of restitution, or of being able to obtain redress by exciting disturbances in the capital. Virgil is supposed to have been one of the number who came to Rome, and after having made Cæsar acquainted with the particular circumstances of his situation, received an order to have his lands restored; and at the same time took care that the soldier who had taken possession of them, should be provided for in some other quarter. Pollio, whose authority extended over that part of Italy wherein the division 4 was made, might probably have been acquainted with Virgil; and if so, it is likely he might have mentioned him either to Mæcenas or Cæsar, as a young poet of rising talents. However, in the case before us, Virgil tells us himself, that it was not Pollio's, but Varus's 5 particular interest he solicited

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⁴ The division of lands was made in the year of Rome 713, when Virgil made use of the interest of his friend Varus with Cæsar to obtain the restitution of his estate, and we are told that Varus was then in the highest degree of esteem and favour with Cæsar.—Martyn's Virgil.

Vare, tuum nomen, superet modo Mantua nobis, Mantua, væ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ Cantantes sublime ferent ad sidera cycni. VIRG. Ecl. 9.

for the restoration of what he had lost at Mantua; but whether Varus by his own influence with Cæsar, or by the command he held at that time near Mantua, effected his purpose, is uncertain.

Virgil, it is said, composed his eclogues by the advice of Pollio⁶, and the fourth, the noblest of them all, is inscribed to him, whom he considers as the principal author of the peace which was settled at Brundisium between Cæsar and Antony in the year 714⁷. A peace made at such a time, and after such an uninterrupted series of crimes and misfortunes, was sufficient in itself to inspire the mind of a young poet with the splendid imagery belonging to the golden age, and under this impression it was his business to embellish it with all the brilliant ideas which might be supposed to rise out of a new order of things under the benign influence of such a con-

⁶ It was none of the smallest honours Virgil met with, says Dr. Warton, to be esteemed and protected by this all-accomplished orator, Asinius Pollio.

⁷ In addressing it to so eminent a person as a Roman consul, he thought that some pains should be taken to make it rise above the common level of pastoral writing, and particularly that it should be composed in a style worthy of the attention of so great a magistrate.

[&]quot;Si canimus sylvas, Sylvæ sint consule dignæ."

sul as Pollio⁸: Virgil applied to it all the poetical allusions and splendid fictions which either his fancy could conceive, or his information supply from the scattered writings of the sibyls; and as the predictions and allusions contained in them could not be satisfactorily reconciled to the events of profane history at the time, it excited the pious zeal of some christians in the reign of Constantine (among whom was the emperor himself) who were more devout than wise, to apply them to the birth of our Saviour. In my humble opinion, the truth is, that certain prophetical hints and oracular predictions⁹ (doubt-

⁸ Dr. Lowth, the late Bishop of London, examined with great precision all the historical circumstances to which this beautiful poem was supposed to allude, and was of opinion, that no profane event of the time could be made to correspond with it. Hence his lordship's pious aspirations, together with those of every sincere Christian, for applying them to the birth of our Saviour, if they could but be supported by truth, and the authority of holy Scripture.

⁹ In no time was there ever a wilder rage for prophecies than at the conclusion of Rome, and under the first emperors.—Tacitus.

It is incredible how much mankind throughout the whole earth were affected, and their attention engaged, by prophecies at that period of time.—Suzzonius.

less originating from the East, though unknown at the time as to their particular bearings) were afloat in Rome, and unappropriated: these Virgil collected and embodied in this eclogue, from whence it derives its greatest beauty; and lest they should be lost, the mistaken zeal of the aforesaid christians took them into their service, and converted them to their own purpose. The eclogue was written in 714, and the birth of a child is made use of as a fit vehicle to convey to posterity the blessings arising from a peace so long and devoutly wished for, made at such a critical period of time under the consulate of Pollio, his particular friend and patron.

Having considered Pollio as a poet, we have next to take a view of him as an orator, in which character he also excelled. When Pollio was not more than one and twenty years of age, he managed with great address an impeachment against Caius Cato¹⁰, a turbulent

The poet borrowed, says Dr. Warton, what was predicted by the Cumæan Sibyl concerning Jesus Christ, and applies it to the birth of a child whom he supposes to have been the son of Octavia, the young Marcellus, whose death is lamented by Virgil in his sixth Æneid.

¹⁰ Neither Ryckius, Brotier, nor Murphy, take any notice of the Cato impeached by Pollio.

tribune. The writer of the dialogue concerning oratory says, that his speeches on that occasion were extant in his time, and read with much admiration . From Quintilian we learn that Pollio, Cæsar and Calvus², appeared at the bar long before they arrived at their questorian age, which was seven and twenty. According to the same writer, we are informed that Pollio used to say of himself, that by pleading at first with propriety³, he had such success as made him often to be called upon: by pleading frequently, he began to lose the propriety with which he set out; and the reason he assigns is, that by constant practice, he acquired rashness, not a just confidence in himself, a flowing facility, not the genuine faculty of an orator. Erasmus says he could never persuade a particular friend of his to speak Latin, not because he did not understand

Orationes quas hodieque cum admiratione legimus.

Dial. de Oratoribus.

² Calvus, Cæsar, Poliio multum ante quæstoriam omnes ætatem gravissima judicia susceperunt.

³ Commodè agendo factum est, ut sæpe agerem: sæpe agendo, ut minus commodè: quia scilicet assiduitaté, nimia facilitas magis quam facultas, nec fiducia, sed temeritas paratur. Facultatem quoque pro extemporali dicendi facelitate usurpavit Quintilian.

it, but because as he had studied the beauties and delicacies of that language, he was afraid to speak barbarously, if he should venture to speak it extempore. This observation, says Bayle, is made by Erasmus in an allusion he makes to the saying of Pollio, "who acknowledged that by pleading well he had acquired a great readiness of pleading; and that by pleading often, he had made himself less capable to plead well."

From Quintilian we learn, that Asinius and other eminent orators frequently had recourse to the ancient poets, either to strengthen their pleading, or embellish their eloquence, and quoted passages from Ennius, Accius, Pacuvius, Lucilius, Terentius, and Cæcilius; not for the purpose of displaying their own learning, but of pleasing their hearers, when their ears, tired out with the wrangling of the har, required all the charms of wit and poetry to give them some relief. The same author observes, that an advocate may take occasion to recommend his client for the great offices he has borne, for his

^{*} Pliny notices Pollio's observation in these words:

"Commode agendo factum est, ut sape agerem: sape
agendo, ut minus commode;" and he assigns his reason—

"Quia facile agendo, amittitur bene decendi facultas."

generous pursuits, the wounds received in his country's service, his great quality, and the glory of his ancestors; and then adds, this manner was practised even to emulation by Cicero and Asinius, the former in pleading for the elder, and the latter in his pleading for the younger Scaurus. As to the introduction of a pleading, says Quintilian, its composition ought to be varied according to the nature of the subject. For I cannot agree with Celsus, in thinking all introductions ought to have the same cast, and recommends the following from Asinius, as a pattern for them all: "5Were we at liberty, Cæsar, to chuse from all the men who either now live, or ever did live, a judge to decide this matter, we could fix on no one more agreeable than yourself."

We shall now take the liberty of giving some specimens of his manner of speaking, which are to be found in the same writer. When any thing in the course of deliberation is said that is unexpected, it is called by Celsus, sustentatio (for which there is no appropriate term in our

⁵ Si, Cæsar, ex omnibus mortalibus qui sint ac fuerint, posset huic cause disceptator legi, non quisquam te notius optandus nobis fuit.—QUINT. 1. 9, c. 4.

language); but of the propriety of the term in Latin, Quintilian is doubtful: not exactly knowing whether it should be considered as a figure, even when we pretend that something has happened contrary to our expectation. He then instances Pollio, who says, " I never believed it possible, O judges, that when Scaurus was brought before your tribunal, I should be obliged to pray that superior influence should have no weight in his trial."

Sometimes in pleadings, imaginary writings as well as speeches are introduced, as appears from one of Pollio's, who in speaking for Liberia, introduces an imaginary will in the following manner: "7My mother, who was of all things in the world the dearest to me, who lived for me alone, and twice on the same day gave me life, let her be disinherited." The style of interrogatory is often adopted in argument, both for pressing an adversary, and even forcing him in some degree to understand. As thus: Asi-

⁶ Nunquam fore credidi, judices, ut reo Scauro, ne quid in ejus judicio gratia valeret, precarer.—QUINT. 1. 9, c. 2.

⁷ Mater mea quæ mihi tum charissima, tum dulcissima fuit, quæque mihi vixit, bisque esdam die mihi vitam dedit. Eshares ests.—QUINT. 1. 9, c. 2.

nius, "**Do you hear? it is the mad, not the inofficious will of the testator that we blame." It sometimes happens, but very rarely, that we may treat an adversary with contempt. When Asinius pleaded for the heirs of Urbinia, he considered the person of Labienus, who was the advocate on the other side, "as one argument amongst others, of a bad cause?."

Inofficiosum testamentum, quod non ex officio pietatis paternæ confectum est, filiis sine legitima causa exhæredatis. A man might disinherit his own children, one or all of them, and appoint what other persons he pleased to be his heirs. A testament of this kind was called inofficiosum, and when the children raised an action for reseinding it, it was said to be done per querelam inofficiosi.

Asinius pro Urbiniæ heredibus Labienum, adversarii patronum, inter argumenta malæ causæ posuit. The question in this cause before the Centumviri was, whether Clusinius Figulus, the son of Urbinia, fled from his post in battle, and being taken prisoner, remained in captivity during a length of time, till he made his escape into Italy; or, as was contended by Asinius Pollio, whether the defendant did not serve under two masters who practised physic, and being discharged by them, voluntarily sell himself as a slave? See Quintilian, lib. 7, c. 2.—Pollio's speeches in this cause existed when the author of the dialogue de Oratoribus wrote, together with many

^{*} Audisne? furiosum, inquam, non inofficiosum testamentum, reprehendimus.—QUINT. l. 9, c. 2.

Senera the philosopher, notices Poliio as an orator in the following manner: "So severe was the application of some great men, that they gave their minds no relaxation before the tenth hour. We remember the great orator Asinius Pollio, who would not attend to the least business, nor so much as read a letter after the tenth hour, lest the contents of it should oblige him to some new care; and in the two remaining hours before sun-set, and in the rest of the evening, he refreshed himself, and threw off the fatigue of the whole day."

Pliny, in his natural history, not only considers him as an orator, but at the same time notices his love of literature and the fine arts. "Pollio," says he, "was the first man who erected a public library at Rome, which he did out of the confiscated property of the enemy; and the only image of a living person in it was that of Marcus Varro, which individual distinction, as being conferred by so eminent an orator

others, particularly those which he made in the impeachment of Cato. Besides, the author of the dialogue says, "Nec ullus Asinii aut Messala liber tam illustris est, quam Medea Ovidii, aut Varii Thyestes;" all which tends' to prove that many writings of Pollio existed then which was now all lost.

and citizen 10, was no less honourable, considering the number of men of talents of that time alive at Rome, than the naval crown which he received from Pompey the Great for his valour in the war against the Pirates. The first idea of constructing libraries 1 at Rome, originated from Asinius Pollio, who by dedicating his library to the public, made the literary labours of mankind a matter of general concern, and a common benefit to the state."

From the same author we have the account of his fine collection of statues by Praxiteles and other masters². Among his monuments of the arts are mentioned a Silenus, together with an Apollio, and a Neptune, and a Venus, all by Praxiteles. "Pollio," says Pliny, "was a man of such quick and lively parts, as made him zealous to have his collection not only seen but commended. Amongst his other specimens of the arts, were seen the Centaurs carrying away the Nymphs, by Archesitas; the Muses named

¹⁰ Princeps orator et Civis .-- PLIN.

Asinii Pollionis hoc Rome inventum, qui primus bibliothecam dicando, ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit.—PLIN. l. 35, c. 2.

² Dr. Warton says in his Life of Virgil, that Pollio had a most delicate taste for the fine arts, particularly architecture and painting.

Thespiades³, by Cleomenes; Oceanus and Jupiter, by Entochus; the Hippiades⁴, by Stephanus; the Hermerotes⁵, by Tauriscus, not the engraver, but Tauriscus of Tralles; Jupiter, surnamed Hospitalis, by Pamphilus, a scholar of Praxiteles; Zetus, and Amphion, and Dirce with the Bull, and the cord by which the latter was tied to the animal, all formed out of one stone, and brought from Rhodes; the whole the work of Apollonius and Tauriseus. Added to the above were to be seen the Liber Pater of Eutichus, a work highly praised, together with a sitting Vesta, and two Chamatæræ⁶ around her, and a Canephorus⁷, the works of Scopas."

The younger Pliny, in the apology which he thinks it necessary to make to his friend Aristo for sometimes indulging in the lighter amusements of poetry, &c. names Pollio amongst the

³ A name given to the Nine Muses, from the great veneration in which they were held in Thespia, a town at the foot of Mount Helicon.

^{• *} Equestres statuæ, ut Amazonum, quæ primæ ascenderunt equos.

⁵ Mercurii et Cupidinis Juncta Simulachra.

⁶ Sociæ humi sedentes circa Vestam, non in Sedili.

⁷ Canephoria, festival rites in honour of Diana; the virgins who ministered in them were called Canephori.

greatest men of Rome. "Is it unbecoming me (I will not mention any living example, lest I should seem to flatter) to practise what became Tully, Calvus, Pollio, Messala, Hortensius, Brutus, Sylla, Catulus, Scævola, Sulpitius, Varro, the Torquati, Memmius, Lentulus, Gætulicus, Annæus Seneca, Lucceius, and in our own time, Virginius Rufus?"

In like manner Velleius Paterculus, when speaking of the great men who adorned the Augustan age, places the name of Pollio in his illustrious catalogue. "It seems almost needless," says he, "to mark the succession of eminent characters; for who is ignorant, that in regular order of time lived Cicero, Hortensius, to whom may be joined Crassus, Cato, Sulpitius; and afterwards Brutus, Callidius, Cœlius, and Cæsar, who approached the nearest to Cicero in eloquence: next in order came Corvinus, and Asinius Pollio, and Sallust, who rivalled Thucydides in history: these three latter writers may be considered as the scholars of the former."

Having considered Pollio as a poet, an orator, and an encourager of the arts, we are now to

¹ L. 2, c. 36.

examine what is said of him as an historian. He wrote an account of the civil wars of Rome. in seventeen books, a work from which Horace wished to dissuade him; and was besides the first historian, according to Suidas, who compiled in Latin a relation of the transactions of Greece. Of his history Valerius Maximus mentions the following circumstance: Asinius Pollio, who was not the smallest portion9 of Roman eloquence, relates in his third book, that Arganthonius the Gadetonian, lived an hundred and twenty years. Seneca the orator, in his sixth suasoria 10, speaks in this manner of his history: "I do not think it foreign to my purpose to point out how the several historians have expressed themselves on the subject of the character of Cicero: for surely no one can think Cicero such a coward, as to suppose him capable of asking a favour of Antony, or such a fool as to think he would have

⁹ Asinius etiam Pollio non minima pars Romani styli. VAL. MAX. l. 8, c. 13.

¹⁰ Suasoriæ—the name given by Seneca the rhetorician to all declamations of the deliberative kind No person was better acquainted with the schools of declamation than he was; and he has preserved a large collection of the scholastic disputations upon various subjects which were used in them.

obtained it, had he asked it, excepting Asinius Pollio, who never lost sight of his enmity to the memory of that great man, and even made his character a moot subject of debate for the schools: it appearing that the school declaimers were accustomed to propose the following thesis for discussion: "2 Is it supposed Cicero would have burnt his orations, had he been promised safety by Antony?" In addition to the above, (says the same author), Pollio, who has bestowed so much praise on the death of Verres, the object of Cicero's impeachment, is the only writer who has presumed to speak with a degree of malignity of the death of Cicero3: yet in spite of his prejudices, he does him ample justice, which, adds Vossius, as coming from an enemy, is high eulogium. Seneca is of opinion that there is no passage 4 in his history

Pollio was never reconciled to Cicero, which might possibly have arisen from his early friendship for Antony.

² Deliberat Cicero, an scripta sua comburat, promittente Antonio, incolumitatem, si fuisset. Suasoria septima.

³ It is a well known fact, that Cicero in the last moments of his life, behaved with great composure; and it is the only circumstance in all his misfortunes that he bore with a becoming courage.

[•] The passage is in Seneca's sixth Suasoria.

more brilliant than the one which he cites, wherein he seems not merely to have praised Cicero, but to have contended with him for the prize of eloquence. "I don't say this," continues Seneca, "for the purpose of dissuading you from perusing his history. Peruse it, I say, and you will find the cause of Cicero avenged." It is true, Pollio did not like to hear the merits of other orators lessened to add to the fame of Cicero, and in this I think he was right. One day as Sextilius Hena's was reading at Messala's house a poem which he had written on Cicero's death, beginning with this line,

Deflendus Cicero est, Latizque silentia linguz;

Pollio, who was present, started up, and addressing himself to Messala, an orator of equal celebrity with himself, "You may do, Messala," said he, "as you please in your own house; but for my part, I shall not stay to hear a man who says I am dumb," and immediately he went away.

Pollio and Messala began to plead, says



⁵ Sextilius Hena fuit homo ingeniosus magis quam eruditus, inæqualis poeta, et pœne quibusdam locis talis, qualis esse Cicero Cordubienses poetas ait, pingue quiddam sonantes atque peregrinum.

Quintilian, when Cicero swayed the sceptre of eloquence, and then exclaims, " had they but little dignity in life? did they transmit but inconsiderable glory to posterity? What mighty advantage would accrue to mankind in bringing arts to perfection, should that perfection be ever at a stand, by discouraging all future attempts." Suetonius, in his Life of Julius Cæsar, after considering what consequences might have ensued, had not Cæsar taken the decisive step he did at the Rubicon, gives a report circulated at the time to this effect, "that had he come to Rome as a private man, he would, like Milo, have been tried with a guard to attend the court." This report, adds Suetonius, is rendered highly probable by what Asinius Pollio says in his history, who informs us that Cæsar, upon seeing the great number of Romans that were killed at the battle of Pharsalia, expressed himself thus: " This they would have—after so many great actions, I Caius Cæsar should have been condemned had I not demanded the assistance of the army I commanded 7." The same author,

⁶ Hoc voluerunt: tantis rebus gestis C. Cæsar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem.—Suetonius, *Jul. Cæsar*, c. 30.

⁷ Asinius Pollio informs us, that Cæsar spoke these

in speaking of the style and manner in which Cæsar's Commentaries are written, gives us Pollio's opinion of them in the following words: "These Commentariess," says Pollio, "were not drawn up with much care, or with a due regard to truth;" for he insinuates that Cæsar was too hasty of belief with respect to what was performed by others under him, and that in respect of what he transacted in person, he has not given a very faithful account, either with design or through a defect of memory, intimating at the same time an opinion, that Cæsar intended a new and a more correct production on the subject?

words in Latin, and subsequently recorded them in Greek.—PLUTARCH.

⁸ Il est tres-certain, (says Bayle), que les Memoires de Cesar sont ecrites d'une maniere trop negligée, et si Mons. le Prince de Condé s'avise jamais de faire la relation de ses campagnes de cet air-la, il peut s'assurer que son livre ne sera pas fort admire des connoisseurs, mais infailliblement on y verroit toute o un autre force.

of which a Frenchman is scarcely ever divested), je ne doute nullement, que Cesar n'ait dit beaucoup de choses de nos anciens Gaulois, que seroient contradites par leurs historiens, s'il en estoit venu quelq'une jusques à nous."

Plutarch, in his Life of Pompey, takes notice of Pollio's history, and says that its author, who then fought on the side of Cæsar, has assured us, that of the regular troops there were not above 6000 men killed at Pharsalia. As a writer, Pollio is declared by the younger Seneca to be salebrosus et exsiliens, expressions which mark an author whose style is subject to starts and inequalities; but as Dr. Stewart, who lately published a translation of Sallust in two quarto volumes, has adduced them to a disparagement of his general literary character as a writer, I think it but fair to give the whole passage, that the reader may himself judge of their force and meaning.

"Read," says Seneca to his friend Lucilius 10,

[&]quot;Mais pourquoi A. Pollio ne pourroit il pas etre cru, (says the abbé de St. Real), lorsqu'il accuse de Mensonge les Commentaires de Cesar? Il etoit contemporain, de même metier que Cesar, capitaine, historien, orateur comme lui: il pourroit fort bien avoir remarqé que Cesar debitoit des Fables: et il est evidemment sur que les Memoires de ce Conquerant sont ecrits d'une maniere trop negligée." But in opposition to the above authorities, Cicero declares his Commentaries to be valdè quidem probandi—
"Nudi sunt, (continues Cicero), recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis, tanquam veste, detracto."

^{10.} Annæus Seneca, Epis. 100.

"Cicero: his style is uniform; he keeps due measure; it is neatly worked up, soft and delicate without trifling and effeminacy. On the other hand, the style of Pollio is uneven, ever skipping and starting, leaving his reader in the lurch, when he least expected it. In a word, every sentence of Cicero is complete; but Pollio drops us at once, except in a few sentences which are closed exactly in the same manner and form of expression. Moreover, Lucilius, you are pleased to say, that Fabianus appears to you every where low and groveling; whereas I think he by no means deserves this censure. What you object to, is not low and mean, but easy and pleasing; adapted to the tenor of a calm and composed mind; not rugged or waving, but every where smooth and plain. Though I grant he wants the spirit and fire of an orator. and those points and smart strokes that you re-But view, I say, the whole body, and you will find, if it be not very spruce, it is de-But you likewise say it wants dignity².

Papirius Fabianus, naturæ rerum peritissimus.—

² Readings here different—one has, "Non habet oratio ejus dignitatem;" another, "Non habet oratio ejus, sed debet dignitatem."

Pray tell me, whom you will prefer to Fabianus? Cicero? who has wrote almost as many books on philosophical subjects as Fabianus? If you do, I yield, but he is no little man who is not much less than the greatest. Or do you prefer to him Asinius Pollio? Again I yield; but in answer, beg leave to say, that a man must be allowed excellency, who in so great a point as eloquence, hath but two before him."

By the author of the Dialogue de Oratoribus, Pollio is declared to be durus et siccus, expressions which Dr. Stewart says mark the style of the harsh school of the Appii and the Menenii, rather than that of the Julian and Augustan age. The passage referred to is to the following effect: Asinius Pollio lived near our own times. He seems to have studied in the old school of Menenius and Appius. He composed tragedies as well as orations, but in a style so harsh and rugged, that one would think him the disciple of Accius and Pacuvius. He mistook the nature of eloquence, which may then be said to have attained its true beauty, when the parts unite with smoothness, strength, and proportion 3.

³ According to the author of the Dialogue, "Cicero stands at the head of our Roman orators; while Calvus,

Quintilian, who is by far the most judicious of all ancient critics, though he does not refuse to Pollio the praise of diligence, emphatically characterises, says Dr. Stewart, as tristes et jejuni, both his style and imitators. As in the preceding instances, we shall quote the entire passage, and let the author speak for himself. The subject under Quintilian's discussion is that of imitation, wherein he observes, that persons without thoroughly examining the properties of an original composition, are caught by the first appearances that strike them, and sit down to imitation. In such cases the most happy imitation that is attained to, consists in a resemblance of particular phrases and cadences; and such

Asinius and Cæsar, Cœlius and Brutus, follow him at a distance: all of them superior not only to every former age, but to the whole race that came after them. Nor is it material that they differ in the mode, since they all agree in the kind."—"Adstrictior Calvus, numerosior Asinius, splendidior Cæsar, amarior Cœlius, gravior Brutus, vehementior et plenior et valentior Cicero; omnes tamen eandem sanitatem eloquentias ferunt." Ut si omnium pariter libros in manus sumseris, scias, quamvis in diversis ingeniis, esse quondam judicii ac voluntatis similitudinem et cognationem."—Calvus, Asinius, and Cicero might have their fits of animosity, and no doubt were liable to envy, malice, and other degrading passions; they were great orators, but they were men.

imitators, far from rising to energy or invention, sink so far below the level of good writing, that at last they fall into defects which bear a resemblance to excellencies. When such writers cut short a sentence without finishing it, and thereby leave it unintelligible, they excel Sallust and Thucydides; when dry and jejune, they rival Pollio; and if they can compass a period of tolerable length, though in a careless slovenly manner, they swear that Cicero spoke in that very way. Pollio, notwithstanding, says the same impartial writer, possessed great invention and great industry: of the latter, more than what true classical taste might perhaps deem necessary. He had a sufficient portion of judgment and spirit, but falls so far short of the suavity and splendor of Cicero, that he might

⁴ Fiuntque, (says Quintilian), pro grandibus tumidi pro pressis exiles, pro fortibus temerarii, pro lætis corrupti, pro compositis exultantes, pro simplicibus negligentes.

⁵ It is to be lamented that the writings of Pollio, especially his Orations, are not come down to us, as we might be better enabled to form a judgment of the Roman eloquence. He was much admired as an orator, but his style, according to Quintilian, was just the reverse of Cicero's. The author of the Dialogue de Oratoribus says

pass for an orator of a former age. "For," exclaims Quintilian, "what will it hurt an orator, if in some part of his pleadings he adopts the strength of Cæsar, the keenness of Cœlius, the diligence of Pollio, and the judgment of Calvus? for a man of sense, (adds he), will endeavour to appropriate to himself whatever is most excellent in every one." The diligentia Pollionis is again enforced by Quintilian in his twelfth book.

As a critic, Pollio is now more particularly to be considered, and in this character he has fallen under the severe censure of Dr. Stewart, whether justly or not, must be left to the reader's candid judgment. The Doctor, in his first essay on the life and genius of Sallust, observes that Asinius Pollio, in the violent invective which he

the same thing; however, it is certain that many Romans of taste and judgment found fault with Cicero's style as too diffuse and redundant, or, as he expresses it himself, extra ripas diffuens. From the letters of both Calvus and Brutus, we learn that the former thought Cicero diffuse and feeble—solutus et enerois; and the latter in express terms declares, that he was weakened into length, and deficient in sinew and vigour—jractus et elumbis. The sentiments of the two Asiniusses were exactly the same on the subject of Cicero's eloquence.

published on the writings of that historian, represents Ateius, who was the master of them both, as employed in diligently collecting obsolete words and phrases for the use of Sallust: and yet Pollio pretends that this very same Ateius constantly condemned the style of the historian, as in a high degree vicious and affected. The fact was, continues the Doctor, that Pollio, although a tolerable poet, shewed himself as a critic to be vain, arrogant, and capricious. His dry and rugged style ill fitted him to succeed in the historic character⁶, and with the envy natu-

Jam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
Perstringis: jam litui strepunt:
Jam fulgor armorum fugaces
Terret equos, equitumque vultus.
Audire magnos jam videor duces,
Non indecoro pulvere sordidós:
Et cuncta terrarum subacta
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.

⁶ Horace highly commends the historical writings of Pollio, and says, he describes things in that lively and forcible manner, that his readers imagine themselves present at the scenes he relates. Now if his writings could be supposed to have given the poet any the least foundation for the following exquisitely beautiful lines, it should have disposed the Doctor to treat him with more respect as an historian.

ral to a little mind, (what would Horace and Virgil say to this sagacious discovery?) he thought to enhance his own, by decrying the merit of a successful rival. Not satisfied with attacking Pollio's character as a critic, the Doctor attacks him as deficient in common honesty and morality. His words are, "Pollio was little guided by the love of truth, and displayed more malignity than learning, more captiousness than solid judgment."

We are now to consider on what information the Doctor founds the foregoing charge, and the following are the authorities on which he relies for making it good. Suetonius, in his treatise of Famous Grammarians, relates the following circumstance, which is the first evidence on which his statement is formed: I am surprised, says Suetonius in his account of Ateius, that Asinius Pollio should have believed that his master was used to be employed in collecting antiquated words and phrases for Sallust, when

Of these lines we may say with Denham—

Nor ought a genius less than his that writ,

Attempt translation.

La force de poesie lyrique ne va point au de là. Sanapon.

it is a well known fact that the advice he gave Pollio was, to make use only of such words as were established by the best authority, and appropriate to the subject; and above all things, that he should avoid the obscurity of Sallust, and his licentiousness in the use of metaphors.

In this anecdote of Sallust and his preceptor, there appears, according to the account of Suctonius, a palpable inconsistency, for in it, Ateius is made an assistant in the formation of our pupil's style, whilst the other is made to declare, that what he was thus taught, was contrary to the uniform tenor of his master's instructions.

The next evidence on which Dr. Stewart's statement is founded, is derived from two separate passages of Aulus Gellius. From the first it appears that Pollio had addressed a series of critical letters to Plancus, on the subject of the style of Sallust, but the entire of the criticism which survives, is made to consist in Pollio's censuring the historian for using the word, transgressus in the place of transfretatio. From the second we learn, that many writers had employed their pens in criticising the style of Sallust, amongst whom, says Gellius, were men even of superior

minds⁷, who busied themselves in discovering his blemishes as a writer, and censuring them with an equal degree of ignorance and malignity.

From the whole of the evidence as above stated, it is manifest that the Doctor has made what use he could of it to depreciate the character of Pollio; for though his name is not particularly noticed in Gellius's last quoted observation, it is fairly deducible from it, that Pollio was one among the many who found fault with his style³. Hence is to be inferred, that Sallust's manner of writing exercised the critical sagacity of many ancient writers; to whom might be added the names of many modern

⁷ Augustus, who is supposed to have been no mean judge of composition, was of opinion that Sallust had carried to excess his use of ancient phraseology; and from Gellius it is evident, says Dr. Stewart himself, that Sallust frequently did violence to existing modes of speech.

S Comme tous nos beaux esprits desaprouvent les vieux mots, et les termes bas et rampans, dont les histoires de Mons. de Mezerai, d'ailleurs incomparables, sont remplies, ne prononceroient-ils pas d'un commun consentement, que Salluste à èté bien censure par As. Pollio?—Baxle.

likewise, from the days of Roger Ascham down to our own. The authority of Quintilian among the ancients is indisputable; and yet he is one of the censurers of Sallust's manner, and no one has presumed to call him either ignorant or malignant. He says, he would reccommend Livy to young people in preference to Sallust, as being a more copious writer; at the same time observing, that Sallust's concise manner is to be avoided, as being too much laboured.

Besides the strictures which have been passed on Sallust for having introduced obsolete terms, he is also taxed with the opposite vice of having introduced new words and bold metaphors, as Suetonius terms them; and phrases purely Greek, some of which are noticed by Quintilian. Even Seneca criticises the style of Sallust, and says, that whilst it was considered

⁹ Both Cicero and Asinius coined words on some occasions; the former coined the word Sullaturit, meaning that Pompey wanted to copy Sylla: the latter, Fimbriaturit, Figulaturit; of which the derivations are not fixed.—QUINT. 1.8, c. 3.

¹⁰ Aruntius, who wrote the history of the Punic wars, painfully laboured to imitate Sallust: expressions which are rare in Sallust are frequent in him, and of course without the motive which induced the historian of Amiternum to adopt them.

fashionable, "abrupt and disjointed sentences, words of unexpected cadences and an obscure brevity, were held as peculiar beauties in writing." Added to Pollio's animadversions on the style of Sallust, we learn from Pliny the younger, and Quintilian, that both he and his son Asinius Gallus blamed with a good deal of severity the style of Cicero'; and the latter, as is evident from Cæcilius's Epistles, wrote a book', wherein he attempts to prove that his father was superior to Cicero in eloquence; but in giving the preference to his father, we can't help saying he displayed more filial partiality than justice. This book was answered by the emperor Claudius', and the reply, which bore

The treatise of Asinius Gallus, the son of Pollio, says Pliny, was read to me one day at Laurentinum, wherein he draws a comparison between his father and Cicero. PLINY, 1.7, ep. 4.—The two Asinii, father and son, are in many places severe against the blemishes of Cicero's style.—QUINT. 1. 12, c. 1.

² The book was called *Ciceromastix*: it is said that one Largus, an obscure writer, assisted Gallus in the work.

³ L'imperador Claudio che in mezzo a grandissimi vizi era nondimeno uom colto e amante della litteratura, prese egli stesso ad impugnar questo, e a fare l'apologia di Cicerone.—Tiraboschi.

the title of "Ciceronis defensio adversus Asimil Galli Libros," was not deficient in erudition. What is singular, and almost incredible is, that this was the only tribute which was paid to the character of that great orator from the time of Livy the historian, to the extinction of the race of the Cæsars. Even Livy himself did not escape the critical sagacity of Pollio, who says that Titus Livius, a man of wonderful eloquence, retained in his style a certain patavinity*.

Having dwelt longer on the subject of Pollio's literary character than was intended, and having been led thereto by the observations made on it by Dr. Stewart, I shall now conclude by collecting all such scattered rays of history as may bear upon it, and may serve to give whatever illustration it is capable of receiving from history. In private life, we learn from Quintilian, that Pollio was equally qualified for either gay or grave conversation⁵, and on that account

QUINT. 1. 6, c. 3.

⁴ Et in Tito Livio miræ facundiæ viro putat inesse Pollio Asinius quandam patavinitatem. QUINTILIAN.— A fault, says Tiraboschi, che niuno, né allora, nè poi ha osservata in questo elegante Scrittore.—See a book of Daniel George Morhofius de Patavinitatê Livinianâ, 1685.

—BAYLE'S Works, Vol. I. p. 305.

⁵ Seriis jocisque pariter accommodatus.

was said to have been a man omnium horarum. Catullus speaks of his wit and humour in an ode inscribed to his brother Asinius Marrucinus. Previous to Pollio's introduction to the friendship of Virgil and Horace, he had formed an early acquaintance with Catullus, Licinius Calvus, and Cornelius Gallus⁶. Horace praises Calvus and Catullus as the poets who had succeeded best in verses of love and gallantry, and with them it is probable he had joined Gallus, if the fear of offending Augustus had not restrained him. Such were the companions with whom Pollio passed his youth, and with them acquired that happy turn of conversation which fitted him for the enjoyment of all that was gay and lively in society, and which made Catullus call him,

——leporum

Disertus puer ac facetiarum.

[&]quot; Form'd by thy converse, happily to steer

[&]quot; From grave to gay, from lively to severe." Pops.

[&]quot;On the last ore (another Pollio) shine."—Same, speaking of Craggs.

⁶ Nil præter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum. Hor.

Calvus was the author of the well-known epigram
against Pompey—

Magnus quem metuunt omnes, digito caput una Scalpit. Quid credas hunc sibi velle virum?

No man shewed more profound penetration in his discernment of the tempers, passions and abilities of the chief men among whom he lived, than did Augustus. He knew them well, and indulged them in their own favourite inclinations. as far as such were not incompatible with his high situation as head of the empire. Of this we have a remarkable instance given by Seneca. in his book de Irâ. Timagenes⁷, the historian and rhetorician, lived in the family of Augustus, whose patronage he had acquired by the vivacity and agreeableness of his conversation, yet whilst under the emperor's protection, he used to say things which reflected not only on himself, but his wife and family. Observations of this indiscreet tendency, though they may be forgiven, are never forgot. Rash raillery quickly spreads abroad, and soon becomes the subject of general conversation. Cæsar took occasion fre-

SENECA.

⁷ Timagenes's rise in life was curious, but not singular, and is marked with great precision by Seneca:

Ex captivo cocus-ex coco lecticarius,

Ex lecticario Cæsaris amicus.

¹ think we could match it both in church and state.

Homo acidæ linguæ, et qui nimis liber erat.

quently to warn him against such imprudent conduct; but in vain. Like many wite of modern days, he preferred his bon mot to his friend. At last the emperor was obliged to forbid him the court. On quitting it, Timagenes repaired to the house of Asinius Pollio, wherein he grew old8, after having been long the favourite of the Though he quarrelled with Cæsar, and burnt the history he had written of his transactions, no door was shut against him on the occasion: and after Cæsar was told that he lived in the house with Pollio, he only said to him, " Pollio, thou nourishest a wild beasto." this observation, when Pollio was preparing an excuse, Augustus replied: "Make none, my Pollio; make the most of such a guest 10." "But," said Pollio, "if you wish it, Ceesar, I will forbid him my house." "By no means." answered Augustus: "do you suppose me capable of such behaviour, after having restored you to his friendship?" Some time previous to this

⁸ In contubarnio Pollionis consenuit, are Seneca's words. Suidas says, he retired to Tusculum, where Pollio lived, and died there of an indigestion, the consequence perhaps of his own cookery.

⁹ Θηριοτροφιις—serpentem nutris.

³⁰ Fruere, inguit mi Pollio, fruere.

it is well known that Pollio had been much displeased with Timagenes; and what may appear something extraordinary is, that Cæsar's dislike seemed to have revived his regard for a man whose character he did not much value.

Augustus respected Pollio more than he loved him: the pride and haughtiness of his spirit, which Tacitus calls Pollionis ferocia, never could have been relished by him, and his desclining to take any active part with him in the detian war, was probably never forgiven. Hence may have proceeded the Fescennine verses which Caesar, when a young man, wrote against Pollio, to which no reply was given, except what was couched in words which were as much expressive of his own wit as of Caesar's power, and which admit not of being translated into our language—"At ego taceo; non est enim facile in eum scribere, qui potest proscribere."

² Crevier, in contrasting the characters of Messala and Pollio, says, the former was as mild and amiable as the latter was hot and violent. The sweetness of Messala's temper influenced even his style, which had more of grace than energy in it.

² Macrobius Satur. l. 2, c. 4.

An ingenious friend suggests the following translation of Pollio's guarded reply—" But I am dumb; for it

Pollio, however, could never stoop to the mean servility of a courtier; and all his words and actions savoured of the old republican spirit. As a proof of this, we shall give the following anecdote, taken from the *Excerpta* of Seneca the orator.

Augustus having heard that Pollio had given a great entertainment whilst the news of Caius Cæsar's death' was quite recent, wrote to him', complaining of it in a friendly manner: "You know, Pollio, how much I love you: I wonder you should be so little concerned at my affliction." To this Pollio replied: "I supped in public the very day I lost my son Herius. Has any one a right to require greater grief from a friend than from a father?" What he said was true: his upright and inflexible temper of mind resisted every blow of fate. However, it is said that four days after the death of his son, he pro-

would be no light matter for me to describe him who can proscribe me."

³ Lucius and Caius Cæsar, the grandsons of Augustus, of whom he was deprived in the short space of eighteen months: they were the sons of Agrippa and his daughter Julia.

^{*} Per codicillos questus est. Codicilli in the plural.—, Epistles.

nounced a declamation, agreeably to his general custom, during which it was observed that his voice and action were more animated than usual. Yet it might have been perceived that the proud spirit of the man was at war with his peculiar situation as a father. "O great men, (exclaims Seneca), who know not how to submit to fortune, and who make adversity the trial of their virtue." "Such strength of mind, (says Crevier, in his History of the Roman Emperors), is undoubtedly laudable, but the severity and heighth to which he carried it on some occasions, had need to be compensated by the great talents he was master of in other respects. He was (continues the same writer) a good warrior, and merited triumphal honours." Horace calls him the oracle of the senate. As to learning and the polite arts, he was thoroughly versed in them, and excelled in every branch, eloquence, poetry and history. But he shone most as an orator, and has been ranked amongst the best models that are to be found of true eloquence. He studied it closely, says Seneca in his Excerpta, and was the first that introduced the custom of declaiming publicly before an audience: he observed, however, on these occasions, the dignity of his rank; and leaving to professed rhetoricians the vain ostentation of having a crowd of people to

hear their speeches, he invited only a few select friends to hear his.

Rollin agrees fully with Crevier in his ideas of Pollio, of whom he speaks in the following manner: the honourable rank that Pollio held among illustrious persons, was secured to him by the variety of talents which were united in him in an eminent degree. He excelled in all kinds of eloquence, poetry and history; and he patronised in others, that taste for those arts which he himself cultivated with success. gil is a proof of his attention to literature, whom he maintained in possession of his paternal estate, and introduced to the friendship of Octavius. Pollio had the most liberal views, and had the honour of being the first man who founded a public library for the use of men of letters. This library he adorned with statues of the most learned men of antiquity; but of the living, Varro was the only person to whom that honour was paid. To conclude, Pollio*, though

³ On this occasion Labienus the historian makes an observation of more asperity of mind than phrase—" Ille triumphalis Senex augustus; suas, i. c. recitationes suas nuaquam populo commisit.

^{*} Pollio's character, writes Dr. Warton, was one of the most illustrious that ever adorned Rome: he was master of many various accomplishments, that seldom shine toge-

humble by birth, was exalted by talents. them he rose to the most considerable offices in the state, and held ever after a high rank amongst the most illustrious personages of the age in which he lived. He was a good officer, a good statesman, a good orator, a good poet, and a good historian. He greatly encouraged the liberal arts and sciences, which he cultivated himself. and recommended the same to the protection of the emperor, under whose judicious patronage the Muses made Rome their favourite seat. a political point of view, it is to be regretted that private feelings seem to have had greater force with him than the interest of the republic, and decided him in supporting men whose conduct, from his Epistles, it appears he condemned. Excepting in this respect, his honourable conduct was unblemished, and had not the republic been broken and rent asunder, he

ther in one person—was a skilful and successful general, besides an admirable historian, orator and poet. Horace joins with Virgil in bearing testimony to the excellence of the tragedies he wrote, in one of his most beautiful edes, in which one cannot forbear observing that the poet, conscious of the dignity of the person he was writing to, has exerted his genius and warmed his fancy, and has given us some of the most spirited and sublime images that are to be found in his works. Of this ede notice has been taken before.

would have supported it from the purest principles. He long had foreseen that nothing remained to his country but the choice of a master, and he preferred the cause of him whom he thought the best. When the views of Cæsar and Antony became different, he declined espousing the cause of the latter, whose conduct he detested, but would not join the former, out of a grateful sense of his many obligations to his rival. As Augustus thought it his interest to support men of principle and talents, he overlooked this neutrality, and ranked him amongst the number of his friends⁶; and though Pollio had announced the noble resolution of expiring

⁶ Though Pollio became a courtier, he never became the flatterer of Augustus: his original sentiments as to the freedom of the republic remained the same, which is evident from many passages of the foregoing life. Had he been the flatterer of the emperor, he would never have ventured to praise the memories of Brutus and Cassius. Where is there a word about any one of the assertors of liberty in all the writings of Horace or Virgil? In the works of Asinius Pollio, says Tacitus, the names of Scipio and Afranius, Brutus and Cassius, are extolled with all due praise. Messala Corvinus boasted that Cassius was his general; and yet those two distinguished writers Sourished in the esteem of Augustus, and enjoyed both wealth and honours.

with the republic, he was contented to live on long after its total extinction, and died in a good old age in the court and favour of Augustus.

The pedigree of the family of the Asinii, from which Pollio was descended, is given by Ryckius, in a note to the sixth book of his Tacitus, and which I have followed closely in the following account.

Herius Asinius, who is said to have been the grandfather of Pollio, was prætor of the Manucini, a people of Picenum. He is noticed by Livy in the epitome of his seventy-third book. and by Velleius Paterculus, who ranks him inter celeberrimos duces Italicorum. Taking into consideration the time, and the circumstance of Pollio's having a son of the same name, the fact may be considered as tolerably well ascertained. This Herius Asinius had a son called Cneius Asinius, of whom history is silent; and who was the father of Asinius Pollio, the subject of these Memoirs, and of Asinius Marrueinus. That the latter was Pollio's brother, appears from one of Catullus's odes, which the poet addresses to him; and what may be considered as a singular circumstance, addresses it to him for the purpose of dissuading the youth

from stealing away the napkins of such company as he chanced to meet at supper.

It is known that the Romans made use, as we do, of napkins at supper, which was their principal meal. These napkins Marrucinus used jestingly to steal away, and when we consider the recumbent posture in which they eat, their loss must have occasioned frequently much inconvenience and confusion. Martial, in humorously exaggerating the thievish propensities of one Hermogenes, a thief by descent, adds, that he was as great a stealer of napkins, wherever he went, as Massa was of money. In the ode to which I have alluded, Catullus calls on Pollio to assist him in exposing the abuse of which Marrucinus was guilty, and correcting him for it.

You doubt me? if so, trust to Pollio your brother, Who, could he but shift your mean fraud on another, Would bestow in exchange a whole talent at least; Yet what youth better knows how to laugh or to jest?

Cat.

Fratri, qui tua furta vel talento
Mutari—est enim leporum
Disertus paer ac facetiarum.

Caius Asinius Pollio, according to Blackwell, married Quintia, the daughter of Lucius Quintus, and had by her one daughter, and four sons. His daughter Asinia was the mother of Marcellus Æserninus, whom his grandfather took great pleasure in educating, finding him possessed of such a taste for eloquence, that he looked upon him as rightly entitled to the succession of his own: ancient history does not supply us with a finer example of paternal care in the education of a child. Pollio used to set his grandson themes for declamation8, and when the task was finished, the youth recited it to his grandfather, who always corrected his performances with the care of a professed rhetorician; and after that was done, would plead the cause of the adverse party. Pollio's anxiety was not thrown away, as we find the name of Marcellus Æserninus ranked amongst the good orators of his day.

Of his eldest son Herius Asinius, nothing is related, except what has been said before rela-

⁸ Cicero instituted a kind of academy of eloquence in his own house; at which several of the leading young men in Rome used to meet, in order to exercise themselves in the art of oratory.—Ciczno, Epist. 22, 1. 8.

tive to his death. His second son, Asinius Saloninus, died on the ninth day after he was born, according to Servius, in his notes on the fourth Eclogue of Virgil, which some of the Commentators suppose Virgil wrote to celebrate his birth: but their calculations have never been made to correspond with the chronology of the event.

Asinius Agrippa⁹, who, according to Tacitus, was of an honourable, but not ancient family, and whose character reflected lustre on his ancestors: he was consul in 778. His fourth son was Caius Asinius Gallus 10, whose eloquence and splendor of life were answerable to his father's reputation, and whose high spirit he likewise inherited, according to Tacitus 1. The sirname Gallus was probably given to this young

Claris majoribus quam vetustis, insignis vitâque non degerer.—TACIT. En. 4, 61.

Augustus, in speaking of such persons as might have aspired to the succession of the empire, said—Asinius Gallus had more ambition than merit—that he was, as Tacitus expresses it, avidus et minor.

Tacitus says, Pollionisque Asinii, patris, ferociam retinuit.

man on account of the friendship which subsisted between his father and Cornelius Gallus, who were both, says Blackwell, men of humble birth, great parts, and high spirit: both learned, haughty, and who owed their exaltation to their own personal merits. This Asinius Gallus 2 was consul in 744; he married Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa by his first wife Pomponia, the daughter of Atticus, after she had been divorced from her first husband Tiberius. When Vipsania was divorced, she was far advanced in her pregnancy, and was delivered of a son in the house of her second husband Asinius Gallus. This son was called Drusus, and was educated by Tiberius as his own, who always thought of his mother with respect and tenderness. At last Asinius Gallus fell a victim to the displeasure of Tiberius3, who hated him, and no one entertained

² Asinius Gallus uxorem duxerat Vipsaniam Agrippinam, Tiberio primum nuptam, M. Agrippæ et Pomponiæ filiam, sororem ex patre, Agrippinæ, Germanici uxoris quæ ex M. Agrippå et Julia, Augusti filiå, erat genita. Hence Agrippina was the aunt, by the mother's side, of Asinius Gallus's sons. "Asinius Gallus cujus liberorum Agrippina matertera erat," are the words of Tacitus.

³ Iüsdem consulibus, Asinii Galli mors vulgatur, quem egestatê cibi peremptum haud dubium; sponte vel necessitatê incertum habebatur.—Tacıt. l. 6, c. 25.

any doubts of his dying by famine; but whether through compulsion or wilful abstinence, remains uncertain. By his wife Vipsania he had five sons—

Caius Asinius Pollio⁴, who was consul in 776.

Asinius Celer, whom Pliny denominates a consular man: he was put to death by the emperor Claudius.

Asinius Saloninus 5.

Æneius Asinius.

Asinius Gallus, who was father of Lucius. Asinius Gallus, consul in the year 8156.

Uno et eodem ipso die Tiberii conviva et a senatu dampatus fuit Asinius Gallus.—Dro.

^{*} C. Asinius Pollio et C. Antistius Vetus Consules fuere Λ.U.C. 776; J.C. 23.

⁵ Dictus est Saloninus, a Saloniis Dalmatiæ populis, ab avo suo devictis. Ejus avi, Pollio Asinius et M. Vipsanius Agrippa. Drusi Cæsaris frater, quippe filius Vipsaniæ Agrippinæ, Drusi matris, quam Tiberius jam gravidam dimiserat. Tiberio progener destinatus quod ei destinata una ex Germanici filiabus.

⁶ Publius Marius Celsus et Lucius Asinius Gallus, consules fuere A. U. C. 815; J. C. 62.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

MARCUS TERENTIUS VARRO.

Vir doctissimus undecunque Varro—qui tam multa legit, ut aliquid ci scribere vacasse miremur, tam multa scripsit, quam multa vix quenquam legere potuisse credamus.—St. Augustin de Civitate Dei.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

MARCUS TERENTIUS VARRO.

Marcus Terentius Varro, styled by way of pre-eminence the most learned of the Romans, was born in the year of Rome 637, in the consulate of Lucius Licinius Geta and Quintus Fabius Eburnus. That he received his birth and education in Rome, appears from St. Augustine, who says that Varro, in the arrangement of subjects adapted to his books on divine and human things, assigned the subject of the Scenic Games to the former class, which Varro himself says he did not do on his own authority, but because, that being born and bred in Rome, he found them always considered and disposed amongst



^a Vir doctissimus undecunque Varro—is the wellknown verse of Terentionus Maurus in praise of Varro. Seneca uses similar language in speaking of him.

divine things. Of his early life little is known², and his name does not appear in the history of his country till the year 686, at which time he had a command under Pompey in his war against the Pirates, and obtained a naval crown³ for his merit, which proves that Velleius Paterculus was mistaken, when he says that Agrippa was the first who had that honour—an honour which was only conferred on such as had signalised their valour in a sea engagement. Whilst engaged in this war he proposed to Pompey the scheme which had formerly been conceived by Pyrrhus, of making a bridge of boats across the Adriatic sea⁴, in that

² Varro had the same preceptors with Cicero—Lucius Elius Stilo at Rome, and Antiochus the Ascalonite at Athens.

Insigne Coronæ classicæ, quo aemo unquam Romanorum donatus erat, hoc bello Agrippa singulari virtute meruit.—Velleius Paterculus.

In his Piratic war, Varro had Publius Septimius his quæstor, for whom he wrote his three books concerning the Latin tongue.

⁴ Hoc intervallum pedestri continuare transitu pontibus junctis, primum Pyrrhus Epiri rex cogitavit: post eum Marcus Varro, cum classibus Pompeii piratico bello præesset, utrumque alia impedivere cura.—Plin. 1. 3, e. 11.

part where it is the narrowest; a scheme which, from the distance, was totally impracticable.

In his treatise on Agriculture, he tells us how he was employed at the time when stationed at Corcyra with his fleet and army. "When all houses (says he) were filled with dead bodies and funereal preparations (the consequence of the plague), I made new apertures towards the north, and by removing the infected, changing the door-ways, and by other instances of attention of this kind, I brought back my associates and family in safety." This, he says, he did in imitation of Hippocrates, who saved several cities of Greece by the like mode of proceeding in a parallel case.

His love of science and the fine arts appears from an anecdote related by Pliny in the 14th chapter of his thirty-fifth book. Caius Marena and Marcus Varro, who were curule sediles about the year 692, caused a piece of painting in fresco to be brought from Lacedemon to Rome to adorn the Comitium; having cut out the same whole and entire, and enclosed it within cases of wood. This painting was excellent, and much admired; but what excited most surprise was, that it could have been transported safe and without the least injury.

The same writer says, Varro had a museum in which, among other specimens of the fine arts, he had a lioness of marble, the work of Archelaus, which was encompassed with winged Cupids playing around it, whose attitudes were greatly admired; for some of them appeared in the act of binding her, others in the act of making her drink out of a horn; some seemed as if putting socks on her feet, the whole of which beautiful group was formed out of one stone.

After the year 692 his name is not noticed till the year 704, when we find him appointed one of Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, along with Afranius and Petreius, at the time of the breaking out of the civil war between this general and Cæsar. Though in the sixty-seventh year of his age, he supported the cause of Pompey's, for whom he had ever entertained a high regard, as long as it was tenable, and acted with an ardour of zeal in the prosecution of it, such as may possibly have given him cause for some serious reflections in his more tranquil moments:

⁵ When Pompey was first elected consul in 684, Varro gave him a commentary, called "Isagogicum de officio Senatus habendi." This appears from Varro's letters to Appianus.—Gellius, b. 14, c. 7.

for it appears, that such states in Spain as were well affected to Cæsar, he loaded with heavy impositions, and confiscated the properties of many whom he accused of having spoken against what he called the commonwealth: to which may be added, that he obliged the whole province wherein he commanded to take an oath of fidelity to himself and Pompey. However, after the defeat of Afranius and Petreius he found himself no longer in a situation to oppose the overwhelming power of Cæsar, and therefore surrendered himself and army into the hands of the conqueror at Cordova, where he gave him an account of his administration, and of the public treasure, which he delivered to him, at the same time informing him what stores of corn and shipping he had provided, and where they were to be found6.

⁶ The spoils which Varro had taken from the temple of Hercules at Gades, were ordered by Cæsar to be restored to it, which proves in what high estimation the temple was held by the inhabitants. For an account of this temple, see my translation of Apollonius, b. 5, c. 5. It is said that Cæsar invaded Britain in hopes of finding pearls. No such reason induced him to invade it. Suetonius says, he would purchase at any cost gems, carved works, and pictures, if executed by the eminent masters of antiquity.

Cæsar was fully sensible of the acquisition of so learned a man as Varro; and being himself a scholar, and fond of collecting books, he assigned to him the task of disposing and arranging not only the books he was able to procure himself, but such as had been acquired by his learned predecessors. Æmilius Paulus was the first Roman who brought to Rome a collection of books, and this he did after his victory over Perseus, king of Macedonia. His example was followed by Sylla, who after the siege of Athens carried to Rome a library which he discovered in the temple of Apollo. This collection was greatly augmented by Lucullus, to which he gave the scholar the most easy access. This was a library, says Plutarch, whose walks, galleries, and cabinets, were open to all visitors; and the ingenious Greeks, when at leisure, resorted to this abode of the Muses to hold literary converse, in which Lucullus loved to join. The collection of books which the conqueror of Mithridates made, was the grand fruits of his Pontic spoils, among which was the famous library of Apellicon the Teian. wherein were discovered the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus. Whenever tyrants or usurpers possess sense as well as courage, together

with some learning, they generally prove the warmest friends and patrons of the cause of literature: and the reason is obvious, because they know it is their interest to divert the public attention from all political speculation, and to afford their subjects or slaves the inexhaustible occupations of curiosity, and the consoling pleasures of imagination.

After Varro's leaving Spain, he withdrew from all public business, and consecrated the remainder of his life (which he is said to have preserved with all his senses entire to his eighty-eighth year) to the pursuits of philosophy. Some time after this period his feelings and circumstances differed not materially from those of Cicero, who in all his letters to Varro bewails with great freedom the utter ruin of the state, and proposes that they should live together in those studies which were heretofore nothing more than their amusement, but which must now prove their principal support: that they must however be ready, whenever called on, to contribute not only their councils, but their labours, in repairing the ruins of the republic. "But should none (continues Cicero) require our services for this purpose, let us employ our time and thoughts upon moral and political enquiries. If we cannot benefit the commonwealth in the forum, and the senate, let us endeavour at least to do so by our studies and writings; and after the example of the most learned among the ancients, contribute to the welfare of our country by useful disquisitions concerning laws and government."

Varro was a senator of the first distinction. both for birth and merit, and was possessed of all the learning of the age in which he lived. Consequently, it is to be supposed that a military life could never have been very agreeable to him, whose love of literature must have been perpetually inviting him to the more peaceful employment of study. But his ancestors, the Terentii, had risen to the highest honours of the state by war, and in their glorious paths of military renown he deemed it honourable to tread, till the distracted state of the times, and his own inherent love of letters, added to increasing years, induced him to adopt the sentiments of Cicero, and pursue that plan of life which must have been always most congenial to his feelings, and for which he must have been best calculated. For from Cicero's letters throughout, it appears that the cultivation of general literature was never neglected by Varro.

and that even amidst the noise of arms, he was ever devoted to his books. Whilst under the impression of these sentiments. Varro entered into a close friendship and correspondence with Cicero, which was equally prized on both sides, and at Varro's particular desire, rendered immortal by the mutual dedication of their learned works to each other, namely, of Varro's Treatise on the Latin Tongue to Cicero, and of Cicero's Academical Questions to Varro. On the subject of these respective dedications, Cicero, in his letters to Atticus, gives a curious and particular account, such a one as gives us much insight into their peculiar dispositions and characters. "As to what you write (says Cicero to Atticus?), concerning Varro, you know that till lately I composed nothing but orations, or some such works, into which I could not introduce his name with any propriety. Afterwards, when I engaged in a work of more general erudition, Varro informed me that his intention was to address to me a work of considerable extent and importance. Two years however passed away. and though he is a very Callipides in writing.

⁷ Letters to Atticus, b. 13, ep. 12.

^{*/}Biennium præteriit, cum ille Kahhandas—assiduo cursu cubitum nullum processerit.

yet with all his speed, he has not advanced a single inch in his work. In the mean time I have been making preparations for returning him the compliment; I mean measure for measure, and that with interest, if I could: for Hesiod in such cases recommends the clause, if you can9." Again says. Cicero to Atticus, "I am anxious to know how you came to be informed that a man like Varro, who has written so much 10 without addressing any thing to me, should desire me to pay him a compliment. However, I wish to know particularly from you', whether you still continue to think that I ought to send him my book. You tell me he is desirous of having it addressed to him. and that he would be proud of such an honour. I have comprehended the whole academic system in four books instead of two, in which Varro is a speaker through them all, and made to defend the doctrine of Antiochus. I have put into his mouth all the arguments which were so accurately collected by Antiochus against

Quibus verbis Cicero notat M. Varronis tarditatem, qui cum magnus quasdem spes ostenderet, rê nihil unquam absolveret.—Vide *Erasmi Adagia*.

⁹ Letters to Atticus, b. 13, Ep. 18.

¹⁰ Πολυγραφωταιτος.

¹ Ep. 19.

the opinion of those who maintain that there is no certainty to be attained in human knowledge². These I have answered myself, and you are the third person in the conversation." Again, "after reading your hint (says Cicero to Atticus) concerning Varro, I seized it as unexpected treasure. Nothing can be better suited to that kind of philosophy in which he has always delighted; and the part assigned him in the debate is so good, that I do not literally think the cause which I support appears the better; for Antiochus gives a strong air of truth to every thing he says.

"The work, at your request, is addressed to him, and I have sent it to Rome to be transcribed; if you wish to have a copy of it, send your transcribers, who shall have my permission to copy it out. I only beg you may not make it public till I see you, and I know a word to the wise is sufficient. Yet though I have addressed my books to Varro, I often

² In eis, quæ erant contra акатальная præclaré col· lecta ab Antiocho, Varroni dedi.

³ Ep. 21.

⁴ Describenda.

⁵ Librarii—the persons who transcribed books,

⁶ Ep. 25.

think I hear him complaining that my part in them is better supported than his;

- " For he is so severe a man, that he would
- " Discover faults, in what from fault is free?.

But you shall form your opinion of them when you have leisure to read them at Epirus. The dedication to Varro I hope you like, for I never took so much pains about any thing in my life. I did not even dictate it to Tyro, who can take in whole periods⁸: but to Spintherus, word for word."

Though I have been so particular in noticing all the foregoing circumstances relative to his academical treatise and its dedication, I cannot withhold the following letter? from Cicero to Varro himself, which adds considerably to our information on the subject.—"To importune the execution of a promise, (says Cicero in this letter), is a sort of ill-manners of which the populace themselves, unless they are particularly instigated for that purpose, are seldom guilty. I cannot however for-

 $^{^7}$ $\Delta uvos$ amp: $\tau a \chi a$ xev xal avaltor althourto.

⁸ At ego ne Tirovi quidem dictavi, qui totas περιοχας persequi solet, sed Spinthero syllabatim.—Ep. 25.

⁹ Fam. Letters, b. 11, ep. 14, A. U. 708.

bear, I will not say to demand, but to' remind you of a favour, which you long since gave me reason to expect. To this end I have sent you four admonitors 10: but admonitors, perhaps, whom you will not look upon as extremely modest. They are certain philosophers whom I have chosen from among the disciples of the later academy: and confidence, you know, is the characteristic of this sect. I am therefore apprehensive that you may consider them as so many importunate duns, when my meaning only is, that they should present themselves before you as modest petitioners. But to drop my metaphor, I have long denied myself the satisfaction of addressing to you some of my works, in expectation of receiving a com-

These were dialogues, entitled Academica, which appear from hence to have originally consisted of four books, though there is only part of one now remaining.

The followers of the academic philosophy were divided into two sects, called the old and the new. The former was founded by Plato, the latter by Arcesilas. The principal dispute between them, seems to have related to the degree of evidence upon which human knowledge is founded; the earlier academics maintaining that some propositions were certain; the latter, that none were more than probable.—Melmoth.

pliment of the same kind from yourself. waited therefore, in order to make you a return as nearly as possible of the same nature. I am willing to impute your delaying this favour to the desire of rendering it so much the more perfect, I could no longer refrain from telling the world in the best manner I was able. that we are united, both in our affections and in our studies. With this view I have drawn up a dialogue which I suppose to have passed between you and myself in conjunction with Atticus: and have laid the scene in your Cuman villa. The part I have assigned to you, is to defend (what, if I mistake not, you approve) the sentiments of Antiochus²: as I have chosen myself to maintain the principles of Philo3. You

² Antiochus, a philosopher of Athens, whose lectures Varro had formerly attended. He maintained the doctrines of the old academy. Under this excellent philosopher, says Cicero, I renewed those studies, which I have been fond of from my earliest youth. He maintained the doctrines of the old academy, of which Plato was the founder. In the Academic Questions Varro tells Cicero, "What is there I wish more to remember, than what I heard from Antiochus, with whom I spent six months whilst I remained at Athens?"

³ Philo, a philosopher of high character, and the mas-

will wonder to find perhaps in the perusal of this piece, that I have represented a conversation which in truth we never had: but you must remember the privilege which dialogue writers have always assumed.

"And now, my dear Varro, let me hope we shall hereafter enjoy together many of these philosophical conversations. If we have too long neglected them, the public occupations in which we were engaged must be our apology: but the time is now arrived, when we have no such excuse to plead. May we then exercise speculations together under a fixed and peaceable government at least, if not under one of the most eligible kind. Though indeed, if that

ter of Antiochus, whom he sometimes opposed: he came to Rome after Mithridates had made himself master of Athens. Cicero, on his arrival, immediately became his scholar, and was greatly pleased with his opinions.

Cicero took the sceptical part in this dialogue, not as being agreeable to his own sentiments, but in order to pay Varro the greater compliment of maintaining the more rational opinions. Brucker, in his *Historia Critica Philosophica*, says, that Varro was the ornament of the old academy—a man of uncommon abilities, and large stores of knowledge, which qualified him for the highest offices of the state.

were to prove the case, far other employment would engage our honourable labours. But as affairs are at present situated, what is there else that can render life desirable? For my own part, it is with difficulty I endure it, even with all the advantages of their powerful assistance, but without them, it would be utterly insupportable. But we shall talk farther and frequently upon this subject, when we meet: in the mean time I give you joy of the new habitation 4 you have purchased, and highly approve of your removal."

From the foregoing letter, it appears that Varro had promised to dedicate some of his works to Cicero, which from so great a man and scholar as Varro, did not a little soothe the vanity of our author, and the above letter is a proof of the impatience with which he expected the performance of his friend's promise.

Having noticed the chief circumstances which preceded the publication of the Academical Questions, I shall now proceed to take some notice of the work itself, from which are

⁴ Varro had just bought a country-house, to which he had retired for the conveniency of studying.

learnt the high estimation in which Varro was held by Cicero and Atticus, together with the subjects of some of the many books of which he was the author, "books, (says Cicero), which brought us home, as it were, while we were foreigners in our own city, and wandering like strangers, that we might know who, and where we were. For in them are laid open the chronology of his country, a description of the seasons, the laws of religion, the ordinances of the priests, domestic and military occurrences, the situation of countries and places, the names of all things divine and human, the breed of animals, moral duties, and the origin of things. Added to all this, (says Cicero), he has thrown a great deal of light on our poets by his learning and conversation, and composed various and elegant works in almost every kind of verse, and besides has entered on topics of philosophy sufficient to invite readers to the study of it, but little to convey instruction 5." On subjects

⁵ Varrone stesso, (says Tiraboschi in his account of Italian literature), el dottissimo Varrone, che, versato in tutte le scienze, la filosofia ancora avea co' suoi scritti illustrata, avealo fatto in maniera, per testimonio del Tullio, che avea bensi giovato molto ad eccitarne gli altri allo studio, ma poco ad istruirli—ad impellendum satis, ad edocendum parum.

of philosophy, Bayle wished to have the same observation applied to himself. For, says Aristotle, it is incumbent on us, not only to thank those whose opinions are universally assented to, but such as treat matters merely in a superficial way, for these profit us something, as they exercise the thinking faculty. Five hundred volumes 6 are ascribed to Varro, on various topics, of which none have come down to us except three books—de Ré Rustica, his works de Lingua Latina, and some fragments of his Analogia. St. Augustine's observation, "7 of his having read so much, that it was surprising how he had leisure to write, and of having written so much, that it was wonderful how he could ever read, arises naturally from a bare inspection of the names of the books which have reached our times.

Et te multimodâ satis verendum Scriptorum numerositate, Varro.

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS.

E tanto numero librorum admodum pauci, neque illi integri, tanquam tabulæ fractæ e naufragio ereptæ, ad nostram pervenerunt ætatem.—Fabricius.

⁷ Qui tam multa legit, ut aliquid ei scribere vacasse miremur, tam multa scripsit, quam multo vix quenquam legere potuisse credamus.—St. Augusting de Civitate Dec. l. 6, c. 2.

Pliny, in his Natural History, mentions Varro in the following manner: "Men in former times, (says he), were extremely delighted with exhibiting the images of illustrious personages, of which we have the testimony not only of Atticus the friend of Cicero, but also of Marcus Varro, who in all his volumes, of which he wrote a great number, took care to insert, influenced by the most benevolent motives, the names of seven hundred distinguished characters; and not only to do this, but to give their portraits, being unwilling that their likenesses should perish; or that even time itself should prevail against them, striving as it were to rival the power of the gods by an invention that gave them immortality, and an ubiquity which scattered them through all parts of the earth." This passage of Pliny excites a curiosity which it may not be easy to satisfy. For it may be asked, how were these portraits at that time so easily propagated? If copied with a pen, their correctness must have considerably suffered, and their dispersion been confined and slow. It was a custom among the ancients, to place the portraits before their works, as is evident from the poet Martial, who says,

Quam brevis immensum cepit membrana Maronem, Ipsius vultus prima tabella gerit⁸.

Atticus, in a work he published of illustrious Romans, made it more delightful by ornamenting it with portraits. Even a taste for collecting them or busts, was warmly pursued in the happier periods of Rome. It was not unusual, I find, to draw the figures and achievements of great men in robes of purple, and this was called by the Greeks $\pi \epsilon \pi \lambda \circ \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \epsilon \alpha$, which title Varro appears to have prefixed to a treatise wherein he described the most celebrated men among the Romans. For in a letter from Cicero to Varro, he says, "I am glad that you are pleased with the Peplographia of Varro—his delineation of Heraclides I have not yet copied."

⁸ How brief a page, the bard immense may bear: Eye the first tablet, and the features there.

ELPHINSTONE.

⁹ Athenienses in peplo, eos qui aliquid fortiter gesserunt, expingere consueverunt.

^{1°} Πεπλογραφίαν Varronis tibi probari non molestè fero, a quo adhuc Ηρακλειδιον illud non abstuli.

De Ηρακλειδεω Varronis negotia salsa—mi quidem nihil unquam sic delectavit—sed hæc et alia majora coram.

But to return to my subject—Varro's treatise of distinguished characters mentioned by Pliny, together with what he wrote of the poets, are noticed by St. Jerome in his preface to his Ecclesiastical Writers, in which, after setting forth some of the Greek authors who have treated of illustrious men, it adds the name of Varro to his list of Latin writers on the same subject. Varro's learning was in the highest estimation, and that in an age the most celebrated for literary acquirements and talents, of any that Rome ever knew.

Besides the surviving fragments of Varro already noticed, there are still existing some fragments of his Menippean Satires, though inconsiderable, and in general much corrupted. The titles of many of them, says Dryden, are preserved, and are for the most part double, from whence at least we may understand how many various subjects were treated by that author. The following titles I will take the liberty of presenting to the reader as matters of some curiosity: one is entitled, Concerning the Duty of a Husband, in which the writer observes, that the errors of a wife are either to be removed or endured. He who extirpates them, makes his wife better: he who endures them,

improves himself. Another is inscribed, You know not what a late Evening, or a late Supper may bring with it. The subject of which is reading, which constituted part of the amusement at a feast; and Varro's meaning is, that what is read, should be so selected, as to entertain, without being tedious or troublesome. A third satire is entitled, Of Things to be Eaten; wherein he describes the exquisite delicacies of food and entertainment, in some verses written with much facetiousness and skill. In this satire he observes, that the number of guests should begin with that of the Graces, and finish with that of the Muses; that is, it should consist of no less than three at the fewest, and of no more than nine, when most numerous. Cicero, in his Academics, introduces Varro himself giving us some light concerning the object and design of those satires; wherein, after he had shown his readers why he did not ex professo write of philosophy, he adds what follows: " for in those ancient writings of ours, we, imitating Menippus without translating him, have infused a degree of mirth and gaiety, and given them a portion of our most secret philosophy and logic, that even our unlearned readers might more easily understand them, being as

it were invited to read them with some pleasure: besides, in the discourses we have written in praise of the dead, and in the introductions to our antiquities, it was our wish to write in a manner worthy of philosophers, provided we have attained the desired object." "In short. (says Dryden, in the composition of his satires), he so tempered philology with philosophy, that his work was a mixture of both." This opinion is confirmed by Tully himself, who shortly after addresses himself to Varro in these words: "And you yourself have composed various and elegant works in almost every kind of verse; and besides have entered on topics of philosophy sufficient to allure readers to the study of it, but too little to convey instruction." "Thus it appears, (continues Dryden), that Varro was one of those writers who were desirous of promoting laughter; and that learned as he was, his business was more to divert his readers than to teach them. His satires were entitled Menippean: not that Menippus had written any satires, but that Varro imitated his style, his manner, and his facetiousness. The appella-

It is supposed that the mock deification of Claudius by Seneca and Petronius Arbiter, and many of the dialogues of Lucian, together with the Symposium, or Casars of Julian, are all so many entire satires in this way.

tion then of *Menippean*, was given to his satires, not from any production of the same kind by Menippus, but rather from the qualities of his mind, and the singularity of his conduct. However, Varro, in imitating Menippus, avoids all his impudence and indelicacy, and confines himself only to his witty pleasantry.

This illustration of the Menippean, or rather Varronian satire, which is mostly borrowed from the account given of it by Dryden², is as satisfactory as it can be at this time. Whoever wishes to learn all that can be said on the subject of Roman satire, will find it in Isaack Casaubon's book, written expressly on the occasion, wherein he styles Varro, "by far the most learned writer, without any dispute, amongst the Romans." Quintilian considers the Varronian satire of great pre-eminence, and says that Terentius Varro, a man of the greatest learning, composed it in a variety of numbers, who besides wrote on several subjects with profound

² Dryden is of opinion that La Secchia Rapita, is a satire of the Varronian kind.

Il qual genere di Componimento da alcuni moderni ancora è stato imitato, e singolaramente nella famosa sattira Menippea publicato en Francia nei tempi torbidi della Legua.—Tiraboschi.

erudition3. He was completely master of the Latin language, and thoroughly conversant in the antiquities of Greece and Rome. works will enlarge the sphere of knowledge, but can add nothing to eloquence. "The age of Cicero and Caius Cæsar, (says Aulus Gellius), had few men distinguished for their eloquence; but its chief ornaments for diversity of knowledge and various arts, by which human learning was improved, were Marcus Varro and Publius Nigidius—the two columns of genius. The literary records of Varro, (adds Gellius), are to be found in the hands of every one: but alas! scarce a vestige of them remains at present."

Cicero says, he was under great literary obligations to Lucius Ælius, a man of admirable talents, who not only enlarged the bounds of science himself, but explained it with the greatest judgment and elegance to others. The same writer calls Nigidius his virtuous and learned friend, by whose assistance he successfully stood forth in defence of the republic at the time of Cataline's conspiracy. Publius

³ Apuleius, in his Apology, styles Varro, "Vir accuratissimè doctus atque eruditus!"

Nigidius Figulus was a great philosopher, and the most learned of the Romans next to Varro: he was particularly skilled in astrology, for which he is extolled by the poet Lucan 4. "When we were desirous, (writes Gellius), of being initiated and brought forward in the study of dialectics, it was necessary to have recourse to, and to understand what the logicians call preliminaries, and in the first place to learn the axioms, which Marcus Varro sometimes calls principles, sometimes maxims. We eagerly enquired after the commentary of Lucius Ælius, who was Varro's master, concerning first principles, and read it after having found it in the Library of the Temple of Peace." tius is not silent on the subject of Varro's universal knowledge, of which he has the following observation: "Marcus Varro, than whom none was more learned, either among the Greeks or the Latins, in his dissertation on subjects of divinity, which he wrote to Caius Cæsar, chief pontiff, when he spoke of the Quindecemviri. says the Sibylline books were not the production of one Sibyl, but were called Sibylline,

⁴ At Figulus cui cura Deos, secretaque Cœli Nosse fuit, &c.

because all the female soothsayers were called Sibyls by the ancients."

Varro is classed by Aulus Gellius among the grammarians, and in a coppy of verses ascribed to Virgil in the Latin Anthology, he is ridiculed with some other old grammarians, for the pompousness of his style. The superstitious prejudice of the ancients regarding particular numbers is well known, and the numbers which have principally exercised their ingenuity were those of 3, 4, 7, and 9. The number 7.5 above all, engaged the attention of Varro, who has written with extreme acuteness concerning it; though on the same subject he has gathered together several other things, but not with equal felicity; such, for instance, as that there are in the world seven wonders of art; that among the ancients there were seven wise men: that there were seven chariots in the Circensian games, and seven chiefs chosen to make war on Thebes. After this he concludes with saying, that he himself had then entered his twelfth seven

⁵ Marcus Varro, in the first of his books, named Hebdomades, or de Imaginibus, relates many virtues and various properties of the number seven, called by the Greeks-Hebdomada.—Gellius, b. 3, c. 10.

years, on which day he had written seventy times seven books, of which many, in consequence of his being proscribed, had been lost amidst the plunder of his libraries. The ancients are known to have entertained a variety of superstitious notions concerning the mystical power of numbers, particularly the number seven, with its several multiplications and divisions. Cicero, in one of his philosophical treatises, calls this number rerum omnium fere Nodus, and it is to its particular influence with regard to the crisis of distempers, that he alludes in the passage cited.

When Varro's name appeared in the list of the proscribed, he was above seventy years of age. Though condemned to death as a friend to law and liberty, and consequently an enemy to the lawless usurpation of the Triumvirate, there arose a degree of emulation among his old Cæsarian friends, which of them should have the honour of saving him. They disputed who should have the preference in supporting him in his disgrace, and Calenus obtained it, who carried him to his country house, where Antony frequently came, without suspecting in the least that a proscribed person of such importance lodged under the same roof with him.

Under his protection, Varro passed in security the hour of danger: he concealed him till a special edict was issued by Lucius Marcus Plancus, the consul, under the triumviral seal, excepting him and Messala Corvinus from the general slaughter. Blackwell supposes, I don't know on what authority, that Antony was accessary to the preservation of his life, though he had made himself master of his villa the year before.

History has noticed a ridiculous circumstance which occurred at this time, and was connected with the name of Varro. An obscure fellow called Varro, took the greatest pains possible to affix his own name and designation at full length under the black list, just as if there had been a possibility of mistaking him for our illustrious Varro. But though Varro saved his life, he was unable to save his library, the loss of which must have been severely felt by one who had devoted the greatest part of his time to It fell into the hands of an illiterate soldiery, and became the spoil of men who wished to extirpate every memorial that might convey to posterity the great excellence of him who was the object of their blind fury. seizure of Varro's villa in the territory of Casinum by Antony, is introduced by Cicero into one of his Philippics, and made the object of his bitterest invective. The contrast which he draws between his character and that of Antony, is executed in his happiest manner. "How many days, Antony, (exclaims Cicero), did you most shamefully revel in that villa? From the third hour it was one continued scene of drinking, gambling, and uproar. The very roofs were to be pitied. O what a change of masters! But how can he be called its master? and if master, gods! how unlike to him he had dispossessed. Marcus Varro made his house the abode of the Muses, a private retreat for study, not a haunt for midnight debauchery.

⁶ At quam multos dies in ea villa turpissime est perbacchatus? ab horâ tertiâ bibebatur, ludebatur, vomebatur. O tecta ipsa misera, quam dispari domino; quanquam quomodo iste dominus? Sed tamen quam a dispari tenebantur; studiorum enim suorum M. Varro voluit csse illud, non libidinum diversorium. Quæ in illa villa antea dicebantur? Quæ cogitabantur? Quæ literis mandabantur? Jura populi Romani, monumenta majorum, omnis sapientiæ ratio, omnisque doctrina. At vero te inquilino (non enim domino) personabant omnia vocibus ebriorum: natabant pavimenta vino: madebant parietes: ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter matres-familias versabantur.—Philip. 2.

Whilst he was there, what were the subjects discussed, what the topics debated in that delightful residence? I will answer the question—the rights and liberties of the Roman people, the memorials of our ancestors, the wisdom resulting from reason combined with knowledge. But whilst you, Antony, were its tenant, (for you cannot be called its master), every room rung with the cry of drunkenness; the pavements were swimming with wine; the walls wet with riot. Ingenuous youths were mixed with catamites, and harlots with chaste matrons."

From Pliny⁷ we learn, that Varro's image was placed in the public library which Asinius Pollio erected at Rome, and was the only one of living authors which had that honour, and which was paid to him on account of his universal erudition. Such a mark of distinction was more glorious to him than the naval crown

⁷ M. Varronis in Bibliotheca, quæ prima in orbe ab Asinio Pollione ex Manubiis publicata Romæ est, unius viventis posita imago est: haud minore (ut equidem reor) glorià, principe oratore, et cive, ex illà ingeniorum quæ tuuc fuit, multitudinè, uni hanc coronam dante quam eum eidem Magnus Pompeius piratico ex bello navalem dedit.—Peir. 1. 7, c. 30.

conferred on him by Pompey for his services in the piratic war.

We have already noticed the incredible number of books written by Varro; and to this we have to add, as a signal proof of the great care he must have paid to his health, that he persevered with success in the prosecution of his literary pursuits to the close of his long life. His book on husbandry was written in his eightieth year, which the author marks in his "If I had leisure, Fundanias, I introduction. might write these things more conveniently, which I will now explain as well as I am able; thinking that I must make haste: because if a man is a bubble of air, I am far advanced in years, for my eightieth year admonishes me to get my baggage together, before I leave the world. Wherefore, as you have bought a farm, which you are desirous to render profitable by tillage, and as you ask me to take this task upon me, I will try to advise you what must be done. not only during my life, but likewise after I am The first book of this Agricultural Treatise was addressed to Fundanias Uxor⁸, and

⁸ Hence, I believe, a mistake of Blackwell, who says that Varro addressed his book on husbandry to Fundania, his last wife: it was addressed, ad Fundaniam Uxorom.

the second to Niger Tyrannus, who, he says, was so much pleased with the herd, that he often went to market himself to buy cattle, in order to save expence. This treatise 9 is written on the same subject as that of Cato, but on a more regular plan. It is embellished also with all the Greek and Latin erudition of the learned author. Cato the famous censor, says Martyn, writes like an ancient country gentleman of much experience; he abounds in short pithy sentences, intersperses his book with moral precepts, and was esteemed as a sort of oracle. Varro writes more like a scholar than a man of much practice: he is fond of researches into antiquity, inquires into the etymology of the names of persons and things; and we are obliged to him for a catalogue of those who had written on this subject before him.

"Varro, (says Erasmus), when fourscore years of age, wrote books on husbandry, and

⁹ Unicum Varronem inter Latinos habemus libris tribus de Rê Rustică qui vere ac µstodina; philosophatus est imo nullus est Græcorum, qui tam bené, inter eos saltem qui ad nos pervenerunt. O excellens opus, ex quo qualia ejus reliqua erant opera, conjectare quivis potest. Sed quod mirum, non minus in poesi voluisse, fragmenta poematum indicant.—Scaligerana.

wrote in such a way that he appears to have been of a most cheerful temper; and not only to have felt, but relished the delightfulness of his studies."

When we take into consideration the great age of Varro, and the numberless volumes he had written, can any thing give posterity a stronger proof of the wild spirit which guided the councils of the Triumvirs. than their devoting to the dagger of the common assassin a man venerable by his years, venerable by his character; whose retirement from the world and learned labours, it might have been supposed would have been his shield and great reward 10? Lawless tyrants, when once established in their unjust usurpation of power, find it to be their interest to court the friendship of all who are capable of promoting it, and to crush every man of the contrary sentiments. Hence the proscription of Varro, and of every one who was considered the friend to virtue or liberty.

Blackwell, in his Court of Augustus, says that Varro was by nature extremely acute, and by indefatigable study a great master of Greek and Roman literature. His ingenious work,

¹⁰ Præsidium et dulce decus.

de Lingua Latina, which he addressed to Cicero. is still extant, but is in his opinion faulty in two respects. The first, arising from his having recourse to far-fetched allusions and metaphors in his own language, to illustrate his etymology of words, instead of going at once to the Greek language: the second, proceeding from his ignorance of the eastern and western tongues. Yet notwithstanding this defect, he says that his sagacity is surprising in the use which he has made of such knowledge as he possessed of the Tuscan and Sabine language. Whether Blackwell was competent to give an opinion on such an abstruse subject as the origin of languages, must be settled by the more learned philologist. But though the ingenious principal of Aberdeen thinks him not a profound grammarian, he seems in every view of his character to have formed a just idea of it, for he terms him a brave soldier, an experienced general, a deep philosopher, and an universal scholar.

For further delineation of Varro's character I shall now bring forward such parts of Cicero's letters to him, as will best answer that purpose, and at the same time serve to point out the private feelings of both at the most important period of history, when the Roman world was

on the point of submitting to the power of one man. These letters were written by Cicero in his hours of retirement from public duty, when all constraint and reserve were laid aside. But the particular dispositions of the two men, and the melancholy situation of the times in which the letters were written, forbad either of them from ever having recourse to those puerile amusements which delighted Scipio the younger, and Lælius, in similar circumstances—

For when remov'd from public sight,
They bought retirement's calm delight:
Great Scipio, crown'd with valour's prize,
And Lælius, ever mild as wise,
Loose-rob'd, until their herbs were dress'd,
Would with our poet toy and jest '.

From the following letters of Cicero to Varro, written the year after the battle of Pharsalia,

Horace, lib. 2, Sat. 1.

At Caieta and Laurentum they were often seen picking up shells and pebbles on the sea-shore, delighted with throwing them on the smooth surface of the waters.

Quin ubi se à vulgo et scena in secreta remôrant Virtus Scipiadæ, et mitis sapientia Lælî, Nugari cum illo et discincti ludere, donec Decoqueretur olus, soliti.

we may learn that the latter had requested Cicero to give him a meeting at Baiæ, a place much frequented by the Romans, on account of its hot baths, as the amenity of its situation on the delightful Bay of Naples rendered it the general resort of the gay and fashionable world.

"Though I have nothing to write (says Cicero), 'yet I could not suffer Casinius to pay you a visit without taking the opportunity of conveying a letter by his hands. And now I know not what else to say, but that I propose to be with you very soon: an information, however, which I am persuaded you will be glad to receive. But will it be altogether decent to appear in so gay a scene, at a time when Rome is in such a general flame'? And shall we not furnish an occasion of censure to those who do not know that we observe the same sober philosophical life in all seasons, and in every place?

² Ep. 12, lib. 8, A. U. 707.

³ The insecurity which Cicero felt after the battle of Pharsalia, on account of his known attachment to Pompey, and the violent steps taken by Cæsar in all his proceedings on coming to Rome, conspired to give him the uneasiness and alarms which are observable in his letters at this time.

Yet after all, what imports it? Since the world will talk of us in spite of our utmost caution. And indeed whilst our censurers are immersed in every kind of flagitious debauchery, it is not much worth our concern truly, what they say of our innocent relaxations. In just contempt, therefore, of these illiterate barbarians, it is my resolution to join you very speedily. I know not how it is, indeed, but methinks our favourite studies are attended with much greater advantages in these wretched times than formerly: whether it be that they are now our only resource, or that we were less sensible of their salutary effects when we were in too happy a state to have occasion to experience them."

In a subsequent letter he says, "I think it most prudent for both of us to avoid the view at least, if we cannot so easily escape the remarks, of the world. In the mean time I should be glad you would postpone your journey to Baiæ; it will have a better appearance to meet you at those waters, when I may seem to go thither, rather to join with you in lamenting the public misfortunes, than to participate in the pleasures of the place. But this I submit to your more enlightened judgment: only let us agree to pass our lives together in those studies

which were once indeed nothing more than our amusement, but must now, alas! prove our principal support."

In a letter to Servius Sulpicius, written about the same time, Cicero thus expresses himself: "I have been devoted early to all the liberal arts and sciences, and particularly to philosophy; yet I find my passion for her growing still stronger upon me every day I live: perhaps it is because age has rendered me more mature for the lessons of wisdom, and that the misery of the times have deprived me of every other relief."

The high respect which Cicero entertained for Varro, is well expressed in the following letter 4: "I always looked upon your character with great admiration, so nothing raises it higher in my esteem, than to observe that you are almost the only person in these tempestuous days, who has wisely retreated into harbour; that you are en-

⁴ Cicero never forgot the interest which Varro took in facilitating his return to Rome, when banished by Clodius.

⁵ Which he had done about three years before the date of this letter. Cæsar returned victorious from Africa after the battle of Thapsus, about the end of July 707; so that this letter was probably written about the beginning of the same month, or latter end of June.

joying the happy fruits of a learned leisure, and employed in pursuits which are attended with more public advantage as well as private satisfaction, than all the ambitious exploits, or voluptuous indulgencies of these licentious victors. The contemplative hours you spend at your Tusculan villa, are in my estimation indeed what alone deserve to be called life: and I would willingly renounce the whole wealth and splendor of the world, to be at liberty to pass my time in the same philosophical manner. I follow your example, however, as far as the circumstances in which I am placed will permit, and have recourse with great satisfaction of mind to my favourite studies. Since our country indeed either cannot or will not accept our services, who shall condemn us for returning to that contemplative privacy, which many philosophers have thought preferable (I will not say with reason, however, they have preferred) even to the most public and patriot labours. And why should we not indulge ourselves in those learned inquiries, which some of the greatest men have deemed a just dispensation from all public employments, when it is a liberty at the same time which the commonwealth itself is willing to allow us?"

Varro loved letters; his books were his companions as well in the camp as in the closet, and he was never wholly separated from them, even amidst the most active engagements of public life, which fully appears from the following letter of Cicero to him: " Atticus lately read a letter to me that he had received from you, by which I was informed where you are, and in what manner employed: but it mentioned no circumstance that could lead me to guess when we might expect to see you. I hope, however, the time of your coming hither is approaching, and that your company will afford me consolation under our general misfortunes: tho' indeed they are so numerous and so severe, that it is a folly to expect any thing will be sufficient for , that purpose. Nevertheless, there are some instances perhaps in which we may prove of mutual assistance to each other: for since my return to Rome, you must know I am reconciled to those old companions of mine, my Not that I was estranged from them. books 6.

But books are still my highest joy,

These earliest please, and latest cloy. S. JENYNS.

⁶ Which, as he often says, "had hitherto been the diversion only, but were now become the support of his life."

out of any disgust, but that I could not look upon them without some sort of shame. It seemed indeed, that I had ill observed their precepts, when I joined with perfidious associates in taking part in our public commotions. They are willing, however, to pardon my error, and invite me to renew my former acquaintance with them; applauding at the same time your superior wisdom, in never having forsaken their society. Thus restored as I am to their good graces, may I not hope, if I can unite your company with theirs, to support myself under the pressure of our present and impending calamities? Wherever then you shall choose I should join you, be it at Tusculum, at Cume, or at Rome, I shall most readily obey your summons. The place I last named, would be the least acceptable to me. But it is of no great consequence where we meet: for if we can but be together. I will undertake we shall both of us think that no circumstance could be equally agreeable."

Varro had a villa near each of the foregoing places; for, writes Cicero, " if I should have time I purpose to call on you at Tusculum, if not, I will follow you to Cumæ, agreeably to your own appointment. But I shall not fail to

give you previous notice, that your bath may be prepared." Again, says Cicero, " if, Varro, you will not make me a visit. I will pay you one: and as your library is situated in a garden, I shall want nothing to complete my two favourite amusements, reading and walking." Sometimes it appears that Varro called on Cicero when it was not quite convenient for the latter to receive him: the passage itself is curious, and is given in a letter to Atticus. "As I was going to speak of Varro, he comes in, like the wolf in the fable. He is just arrived here, and at an hour that required my keeping him all night. But my intreaties to make him stay. were not so pressing as to tear his robe. For I remember your manner; besides, he had a great deal of company along with him, and I was not prepared for their entertainment."

Plutarch, in his life of Romulus, speaks of Varro as a man of all the Romans the most skilled in history, and at the same time mentions a question which was proposed by him to one Tarutius, an astrologer, which cannot fail of exciting great curiosity, as a proof of the weakness of the best cultivated understandings. The question given, and the answer returned, are equally proofs of my observation. Tarutius

was conversant with philosophy and mathematics; and had studied astrology, in which he was considered as a perfect adept. To him, writes Plutarch, Varro proposed to compute the dayand hour of Romulus's birth, founding his calculations upon the known events of his life, as problems in geometry are solved by the analytic method: for it belongs to the same science, when a man's nativity is given, to predict his life; and when his life is given, to trace back his nativity. Tarutius complied with his request, and when he had considered the dispositions and actions of Romulus, how long he lived. and in what manner he died, and had put all these things together, he affirmed without doubt or hesitation, that he was born in the first year of the second Olympiad; and that his birth was on the 23d day of the month of September, about sun-rise.

Varro, who made no ordinary progress in all the sciences, has left posterity some monument of his knowledge in geometry, because in the books entitled de Disciplinis, there is one on the subject of arithmetic, which Fabricius, on the testimony of Vetranius Maurus, affirms was

⁷ His books de Disciplinis, are not in Fabricius's list.

preserved at Rome down to the 19th century. That geometry was treated of in that work, is to be supposed, from his treating of architecture, which requires no superficial knowledge of that branch of science. For according to Castell, Varro is ample and judicious in his observations on the situations of Roman villas, and seems to have laid the foundation for what Columella, Palladius, and the several Greek authors mentioned by Constantine, have since written on the subject. To Varro's praise may likewise be added, that which Mons. Bailly has noticed on the testimony of Censorinus⁸, namely, that he was the first who made use of eclipses for the regulation of chronology. He is also considered as the inventor of what may be called the first clock that was made in Italy, which measured the hours of day and night, by an hand which was wholly moved by clock-work. In short, the extent of Varro's acquirements in every branch of knowledge, has passed into a pro-

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⁸ A learned grammarian, who lived about the year 238, in the reign of the emperor Gordian: he wrote a book entitled de Die Natali, which proved of great use to chronologers, as connecting the principal eras of various events of antiquity.

verb, like the eloquence of Cicero, and the reasoning of Aristotle; so that in these latter days, in which all sciences have revived and flourished with such superior brightness, when we meet with a man who is universally and deeply learned, we have no higher way of giving exaltation to his literary character, than by honoring him with the name of that illustrious Roman; and by calling him the Varro of the age, or the Varro of the country.

Hear how Varro is spoken of by St. Augustine, in his book de Civitate Dei, who from the works of our author which existed in his time, was better able to judge of him than any one of the present day; and who is supposed to have been so deeply indebted to him in a literary point of view, that it is asserted Pope Gregory the Seventh burnt Varro's writings, lest the learned saint should be accused of plagiarism. St. Augustine, in speaking of Varro's sentiments of the gods, expresses himself in the following strong language: "Who was ever a more curious investigator of such subjects than Varro; a more learned inventor, a more accurate judge,

⁹ In a life, entitled that of Marcus Terentius Varro, which may be found at the end of North's old translation

a more acute discriminator, or one who has written of them more fully, or with more judgment? who, though he be not eloquent, yet abounds so much with learning and principles of science, that in every species of erudition which we call secular, and they liberal, he informs his reader who is studious of things, as much as Cicero delights him who is only studious of words.

In the disputation which Cicero makes Varro maintain in his Academics, he calls him the most ingenious, and doubtless the most learned man of his time. He does not say that he is the most eloquent, because others were in this respect his superiors, but he asserts, and that without the least hesitation, that he was the most acute.

As only the names of Varro's numerous writings now survive, it will be necessary, in our lamentable dearth of information respecting them, to collect whatever has been noticed of each in history, and to give it to the reader. Fabricius has supplied us with the most copious

of Plutarch's Lives, the writer compliments the unfortunate Varro, who lost the battle of Cannæ, and whose name was Caius Terentius Varro, with all the wisdom and knowledge of our Marcus Terentius Varro, who was so justly esteemed the most learned of the Romans.

list of them, of which the following are such titles as he has particularly mentioned.

1. De Cultu Deorum liber 10.—This is noticed by St. Augustine in his seventh book; wherein he says, Varro considers God to be not only the soul of the world, but the world itself; to prove which, he quotes two verses from Valerius Soranus to that effect.

Jupiter omnipotens, regum rex ipse, Deusque Progenitor, genetrixque Deûm, Deus unus et omnis.

These verses Varro expounds, and calling the giver of seed the male, and the receiver the female, accounted Jove the world, that both

¹⁰ Hume, in his History of Natural Religion, notices the character of Varro in the following terms:

[&]quot;The learned, philosophical Varro, discoursing of religion, pretends not to deliver any thing beyond probability and appearances. Such was his good sense and moderation; but the passionate, the zealous Augustine, insults the noble Roman on his scepticism and reserve, and professes the most thorough belief and assurance. A heathen poet, however, contemporary with the saint, absurdly esteems the religious system of the latter so false, that even the credulity of children, he says, could not engage them to believe it." Whenever a heathen comes in contact with a christian, the former is sure of the preference in the opinion of the Scotch sceptic.

giveth all seed itself, and receiveth it into itself.

2. De rerum humanarum Antiquitatibus, in twenty-five books, et Divinarum, in sixteen, addressed to Caius Cæsar¹¹.

St. Augustine mentions these books particularly, and gives the subjects of each. Of the former he says, that the first six treated of men, the second six of places, the third of the seasons, and the fourth of things; but that the remaining one, which makes up the number twenty-five, and which he says treats of things in general, is placed at the beginning, as an

of the learned, that he used to write letters to them, as if they had been alive, and contemporaries with him. His letter to Varro is as follows: "Io ben mi ricordo, che essendo fanciullo vidi i tuoi libri delle cose divine ed umane pei quali principalmente sei celebre, e mi afflige il pensare al piacere da me appena assaggiato: sospetto ch'essi sieno ancora in un cotal luogo nascosti: e gia son piu anni che questo pensier mi travaglia, poiche non vi ha cosa che piu affliga di una sollecita e prolungata speranza." We have much cause to lament that so learned a work, after surviving the vicissitudes of thirteen centuries, should have perished at a time when it might have been considered as almost secure.—Petraarch, Opera, p. 785.

argument to the whole. Of the latter, which treated of Divine Things, he says the first ternary discoursed of pontiffs, augurs, and the quindecimviri; the second ternary, of chapels, sacred edifices, and religious places; the third, of holidays, the Circensian games, and scenic diversions; the fourth of consecrations, private sacrifices, and public ones; the fifth, of such deities as were known; next, of those that were unknown; and lastly, of both together. The remaining book, which completes the number sixteen, is placed at the beginning, as an argument to them all.

Dionysius Halicarnensis calls the foregoing books Archaiologia¹, from which he quotes the following passage, namely, that the towns of the Aborigines were situate in the Reatine country, not far from the Appennine hills: in other parts of his history, Varro's authority is strictly followed.

3. De vitá Populi Romani, addressed to Atticus. The eleventh book of this work is praised

Lactantius, in his first book de Falsé Religione, mentions among the names of other writers of antiquities, that of Varro, who, he says, comprised in his history, the affairs transacted in Italy from the time of Jupiter.

by Nonius, in his chapter in Paupertates. Vossius says, all the books are noticed by Fabius, in his first book and eighth chapter.

- 4. De Genté Populi Romani, in four books, which are mentioned by Arnobius² and others.
- 5. De Initiis Urbis Romanæ liber³, notieed by Quintilian.
- 6. De Republicá libri, of which the twentieth is mentioned by Nonius⁴, and is called Airizi, sive causæ. Books of similar description amongst the Greeks were written by Callimachus, Butas and Plutarch.
- 7. De Philosophia liber; in this book, according to St. Augustine, Varro has examined the various sects of philosophy, of which he specifies 280; and from them all adopts the sect of the old academy for his own use.

² Arnobius the African, a Christian divine, lived at the beginning of the third century. Lactantius was one of his disciples, and his book *Adversus Gentes* abounds with quotations from Greek and Roman authors.

Varro in eo libro, quo initia urbis Romanæ enarrat, Lupum fœminam dicit.

^{*} Marcellus Nonius, a grammarian and peripatetic, is supposed to have lived about the fourth century: he is chiefly valuable for the passages which he cites from authors, no where else to be met with.

- 8. Liber secundus de Forma Philosophiæ, mentioned by Charisius⁵.
- 9. Novem Libri disciplinarum, addressed to Marcus Ælius Rufus, amongst which is one on the subject of architecture, according to the report of Vitruvius.
- 10. Hebdomadum⁶, sive de imaginibus libri: from the eleventh book of which, it is said Charisius made some advantage. If I am not mistaken, adds Fabricius⁷, Varro pourtrayed the pictures of seven illustrious men in each of the said books. Pliny, as we have observed before, has given the pictures of 700 famous men. Vossius says, the Hebdomades contained the portraits and panegyrics of learned men, as appears evident from Symmachus's letters to Ausonius. The panegyric that was annexed to

⁵ Priscian notices a Latin grammarian of this name, whose *Institutions* are placed the first in the collection of ancient grammarians by Putschius.

⁶ Opus Hebdomadum, quod continebat imagines et elogia doctorum virorum.

⁷ John Albert Fabricius, a scholar of superior eminence, born in 1668. No one ever surpassed him in the knowledge of books, and the title of *Librarian of the Republic of Letters*, was justly due to him.

the picture of Demetrius Phalereus⁸ is still preserved.

Hic Demetrius æneas tot aptu' est, Quot luces habet annus absolutus.

This Demetrius has obtained as many brazen statues as there are days in a complete year.

- 11. De proprietate Scriptorum, quoted by Nonius in Liquidum.
- 12. Theatrales of sive de actionibus Scenicis libri, quoted by Priscian in his third book, and by Charisius in his fifth.
- 13. De Scenicis originibus libri, mentioned by Nonius and Charisius.
- 14. De Poetis libri, noticed by Gellius and Priscian.

⁵ Demetrius Phalereus lived about three centuries before the Christian era, and made such improvements at Athens, that it is said he had 300 brazen statues erected to him. The government of Athens was committed to him by Cassander, king of Macedon.

⁹ Scæna quæ fiebat aut versilis (versatilis) aut ductilis; versilis tunc erat, cum subito tota machinis quibusdam vertebatur, et etiam picturæ faciem ostendebat. Ductilis tunc cum tractis tabulatis hæc atque illac, species picturæ (nudabatur) videbatur interior.—Inter Fragmenta Varronis.

- 15. Libri de Poematibus, of which the second is noticed by Charisius.—Diomedes 10, praises the poetical books of Varro.
- 16. De Plautinis Comædis liber —Varro, in examining what plays of Plautus were genuine, has selected 21, which are termed Varronian, from the others which he considered as doubtful. In comedy we are greatly deficient, says Quintilian, though Varro is of the same opinion with Ælius Stolo in asserting, that if the muses were to speak in Latin, they would make use of the language of Plautus².
- 17. Libri de Plautinis quastionibus, quoted by Nonius. This must be, one would suppose, a continuation of the preceding article.
- 18. Epistolicarum quæstionum libri, of which the 18th is cited by Charisius.

¹⁰ Diomedes the grammarian; his work is entitled Diomedes Linguæ Latinæ perscrutator de artê Grammaticâ.

As antient authors reckon up 20 Comedies of Plautus, it is necessary the reader should be informed, that besides the twenty which grammarians have unanimously agreed to have been written by him, Aulus Gellius mentions three more, the names of which are Boethia, Nervularia, and Fretum.

² How little we moderns know of Latin, if this opinion be well founded.

19. Epistolæ, addressed to Caius Cæsar, Fabius, Marcus Sulpitius, Fusius, Nero, Marcellius, Servius Sulpicius, Oppian, &c.

Varro, in his letters to Appianus says, that the Commentary which he gave Pompey when first elected Consul, called "Isagogicum de officio Senatus Habendi," was lost; but Gellius acquaints us that many things on the same subject are to be found in his fourth book of Epistolary Questions.

- 20. De Bibliothecis; the second book of this treatise is cited by Charisius.
- 21. Liber de Vitá suá, quoted by the same author as the preceding.
- 22 Complexionum Librum sextum, citat Diomedes.
- 23. Ad Libonem Liber. Macrobius alludes to this book in the 14th chapter, and second book of his Satires.
- 24. Annales Libri, of which the third book is cited by Charisius, who as we learn from Vossius, says that Servius Tullius was the first man who caused silver to be coined, which exceeded what was coined in the days of Varro, by four scruples.
- 25. Belli Punici Secundi Librum Secundum, citat Priscianus.

- 26. Libri de Familiis Trojanis—this book treats of the families that followed Æneas into Italy.
- 27. De Gradibus necessitudinum—on the degrees of Relationship, Servius says he wrote a book.
- 28. Rhetoricorum libri, of which the 20th is praised by Nonius.
- 29. Περι χαρακτηρων, the third book of which is commended by Charisius.
- 30. Libri de Linguá Latiná ad Marcellum³, of which the seventh book is praised by Rufinus, in his dissertation de Metris Terentianis.
- 31. Libri de Similitudine Verborum—the second book of this treatise is quoted by Priscian: hence it is probable that these books were a part of the preceding, on the Latin tongue.
- 32. De Utilitaté Sermonis, of which the fourth book is noticed by Charisius.
- 33. De Compositione Satyrarum, mentioned by Nonius.

Here endeth Fabricius's list of names.

Responsum Terminus, b. 12, c. 5,

³ From these books Gellius quotes an Ænigma which I shall give as a curiosity.

Semel, minusne, an bis minus est, non sat scio, An utrumque horum, ut quandam audivi dicier, Jovi ipsi regi noluit concedere.

- 34. Sisenna⁴, sive de Historia, mentioned by Vossius.
- 35. A Treatise on Navigation, mentioned by Vegetius.
- 36. Tricipitina or Tricarenus, a Satyrical History of the triple alliance between Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.

Besides all the aforesaid enumerated treatises, I must notice his panegyric on Porcia, alluded to by Cicero in one of his letters to Atticus, wherein he says, "I am inclined to reperuse Varro's panegyric: for I read it so cursorily, that many things may have escaped me." This panegyric was probably written in imitation of Cicero, who compiled a little treatise in the way of a funeral encomium, in praise of Porcia, the sister of Cato and wife of Domitius Ahenobarbus. From the above list of his literary labours, though far from being complete, well might Quintilian exclaim,

Quam multa, imo penè omnia tradidit Varro.

^{*} Varro inscribed to Sisenna his treatise on the Composition of History. L. Cornelius Sisenna, a Roman historian who wrote an account of the civil wars between Marius and Sylla. L. Sisenna optume et diligentissime omnium, qui eas res dixere, persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur.—Sallust.

When Varro had reached the eighty-fourth year of his age, he had written 490 volumes: and in his eighty-eighth year was still devoted to lite-"I should pause, (says rature and his books. Pliny), in reporting a remedy afforded by asps. had I not the authority of Marcus Varro for the same, who, when he was four-score and eight years old, gave the prescription." Terentius Varro is cited by Valerius Maximus, as an example of human life, or rather as one that might with more propriety be denominated a space of years-not so much on account of his years that were equal to an age of time, as for the vivacity of his style: for in the same bed, his breath and the course of his excellent studies expired.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

CNEIUS CORNELIUS GALLUS.

Neget quis carmina Gallo.

VIRGIL.

Who would not sing for Lycidas? he knew Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.

MILTON.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

CNEIUS CORNELIUS GALLUS.

CNEIUS CORNELIUS GALLUS was born about the year of Rome 687, and though some doubts have been entertained as to the place of his birth, it is believed on the best authority, that Forum-Juliense², in the district of Venetia, was the place which had that honor. Of his early life, history is almost silent, and though there are some vague conjectures alluding to it, they are too slight for establishing any fact. He was the friend of Pollio³ and Mæcenas, and is supposed

¹ Cneius, or Publius—history notices Gallus under both prænomens. According to Eusebius, he was born in 688.

² Forum-Juliense, se soutient, dans Ciudad de Friuli, et on connoit une province entiere sous le nom de Frioul.

—D'ANVILLE.

³ This intimacy appears from a letter written by Pollio when in Spain to Cicero—" Etiam prætextam, si voles legere, Gallum Cornelium, familiarem meum, poscito." Pollio had a son called Asinius Gallus, a name pro-

to have introduced Virgil to the notice of the latter, whose friendship he long enjoyed. was known to Augustus at a time when he stood in need of men who could assist him by advice, serve him by their actions, and reconcile the disaffected by their genius and talents. It is said that he and Mæcenas attended that aspiring vouth in his march from Mutina to Rome 4, when he went after the death of the two consuls. Hirtius and Pansa, at the head of forty thousand men to claim the consulship, to which he was not legally entitled till more than twenty years afterwards. On this occasion, Blackwell observes, that these two young men added politeness and literature to capacities which fitted them to shine either in a civil or military character. We are informed they also accompanied

bably given to perpetuate the friendship which subsisted between them.

^{*} A.U.C. 710.—Octavius advanced towards Rome at the head of several legions, in order to demand the consulate, which threw the city into the utmost consternation and disorder.—Dion and Applan.

On this occasion the young Cæsar fulfilled what Cicero said a little sarcastically to the insolent centurion who laid his hand on his sword—"If that be the way, friend, in which your master petitions for the consulship, he will surely obtain it."

Cæsar on his way to Rome, after the battle of Philippi, and when he was drawing near that place, in which the minds of all men were in a state of great terror and uncertainty, as to what might be the consequence, persuaded him to write in mild terms to the senate, and to assure them, "that he intended to offer no violence to the city, but to transact all affairs with moderation and clemency." The delicate state of Casar's health, not yet re-established since his indisposition at Philippi, and the early inclination which he manifested, of listening to his friends, and following the advice of men wiser than himself, disposed the young triumvir to adopt their counsel. This disposition proved of great service to him, and contributed afterwards most essentially to establish the true foundation of all his future grandeur.

From Suetonius we learn, that Gallus was raised to high honours by Augustus, who employed him in the war against Antony and Cleopatra, in which he gave proofs of military skill and singular prudence. In the battle of Actium it is probable he served with Augustus, as we find him the following year, 724, according

⁵ 711, A.U.C.—

to the account given by Dio Cassius⁶, at the head of an army marching against Antony, and taking possession of Parætonium⁷, the western gate of Egypt, whilst Augustus was making himself master of Pelusium, which was long considered as its eastern barrier.

As the soldiers commanded by Gallus had formerly served under Antony, no doubt was entertained by their old general, but that he would be able to regain their affections by fair and conciliatory language; or if that proved unsuccessful, that he would be able to compel them to unconditional submission, provided he carried with him a sufficient force. Antony advanced to the walls to speak to the soldiers, when Gallus ordered all his trumpets to sound, to prevent even a word being heard: and during this interval of suspended action, and uninterrupted noise, he made a sudden sally, in which some of Antony's men were killed.

⁶ Gallus appears to have superseded Scarpus in his command in Lybia and Cyrene.

⁷ Parætonium was a port and town of the Mediterranean, called by Strabo and Stephen of Byzantium, Ammonia.—Celui-ci ètoit une place, (says D'Anville), que les Ptolemies regardoient comme une tête avancée pour couvrir leur frontiere.

Gallus is said to have made use of a stratagem to surprise Antony's navy. During the night, he caused chains to be stretched under the water, in the mouth of the harbour, at the time when the guard which was kept up was slight and inconsiderable; Antony's ships, confident in their security, boldly rode into port, on which Gallus, by means of certain machines tightened the chains, and so confined and crippled the ships, that they were all either sunk or burnt.

Augustus at the same time made his entrance into Egypt by Pelusium, which he soon reduced to submission. As soon as he became complete master of the country, he turned his whole thoughts towards giving it a new constitution, and a new code of laws. Its population, its riches, and its abundant fertility, added to the natural fickleness of the inhabitants, all conspired to make his new conquest a subject of much uneasiness to him. To prevent any inconveniency arising from the aforesaid circumstances, Augustus would not suffer at Alexandria either senate or public council, as there was in every great town of the empire: he made them subject to a præfect, who possessed all the authority of a viceroy, having under his command three legions, and some other bodies of troops less con-

siderable, distributed in different parts of the kingdom. For this present he neither chose a magistrate, nor a senator, but a man of humble birth, without adherents, and who owed his whole fortune to him⁸. The person he first invested with this præfecture was Cornelius Gallus, who joined to the talents of conciliation the most approved fidelity, as he thought, whose attachment and capacity he had tried, and who had contributed so materially to his late conquest, and who besides, from his military services, merited this mark of distinction; his humble, birth and rank (being but that of a Roman knight) having banished from the mind of Augustus all apprehensions of his ever making an improper use of his power.

"Among the rules established by Augustus",

⁸ Non ausus Cæsar, metu novarum turbarum, copiosam regionem, gentemque levissimam viro nobili committere, tamen eam amico Gallo credere non dubitavit.— Dro.

⁹ Ex infimă fortună provectus.—Surronius.

Nam Augustus inter alia dotainationis arcana, vetitis nisi permissu, ingredi Senatoribus, aut equitibus Romanis inlustribus, seposuit Ægyptum, ne fame urgeret Italiam, quisquis cam provinciam, claustraque terræ ac maris, quamvis levi præsidio adversum ingentes exercitus insedisset.—Tactius, l. 2, c. 59.

(says Tacitus), it was a maxim of state-policy, that Egypt was to be considered as forbidden ground, which neither the senators, nor the Roman knights, should presume to tread without the express permission of the prince. This was, no doubt, a wise precaution. It was seen, that whoever made himself master of Alexandria, with the strong-holds which by sea and land were the keys of the whole province, might, with a small force, make head against the power of Rome, and by blocking up that plentiful corn country, reduce all Italy to famine."

By the policy of Augustus, Egypt was a sequestered and prohibited province. The senate had no authority over it. The administration was entirely in the hands of the prince. Egypt was the great corn country, from which Rome drew vast supplies, and it was thought adviseable to keep it in the hands of the emperor among the secret resources of the state, inter arcana imperii. According to the relation left us by Dion Cassius, Cornelius Gallus, to whom Augustus had given the government of Egypt, being exalted with so considerable an employment, began to forget himself extremely 2: for he not only grew unmindful of the respect that was

² Tum cæpit in ipsum imperatorem multa intemperanter jactare, præsertim inter pocula.—Dion.

due to Augustus, by speaking of him in a very opprobrious manner, but he set up his own statues throughout Egypt, and had all his past exploits engraved on the pyramids. As long as Gallus was enlightened by the wisdom of Augustus he gave signal proofs of his zeal and capacity; he caused many channels of the Nile to be repaired, and cleansed, and added some new ones: he restored the vigor of the laws, encouraged foreign commerce, and protected the arts; and if credit is to be given to the testimony of Isidorus, he invented a kind of paper which is known by the name of Carta Corneliana, of which the best kind he called Augusta Regia, in honor of the emperor.

But the termination of his newly-acquired power was not at all answerable to it's auspicious commencement, for Gallus, instead of considering as an object of imitation, the conduct of Agrippa, who always ascribed to his prince the

³ Cartam Cornelianam C. Gallus, Præfectus Ægypti primus confecit.—Is1D. Orig. 1, 6, 10.

The great paper manufactory was in Egypt, near Memphis. Alma dedit mollem Memphitica terra papyrum.

⁴ Augustus might have been offended at this trifling piece of rivalship. Such a circumstance, though in itself inconsiderable, might have given some uneasiness to a prince new in power, and jealous of any assumption of it in another.

glory of such designs as he himself either conceived or executed, abused the favour of Augustus, and even caused statues to be erected to himself; and not satisfied with such a glaring instance of disrespect, it is added he used the most injurious and insulting languages, whenever he spoke of his benefactor. Ammianus Marcellinus says, that this first præfect of Egypt, after plundering the renowned city of Thebes. and stripping it of its principal ornaments, was, on his return to Rome, judicially accused of misconduct; and that he fearing the nobility, unto whom the emperor committed the business to be inquired into and examined, and who were themselves highly offended and incensed against him, fell upon his sword and killed himself⁶.

⁵ Cesare Caporali, in a ludicrous life which he has written of Mæcenas in burlesque verse, alluding to this unguarded habit of talking in Gallus, says, that Mæcenas's tedious mode of travelling was such as might have been excused by Cornelius Gallus himself.

[&]quot; E questo lo trattenne (se non fallo)

[&]quot; Tanto venir, sicome anco lo scusa

[&]quot; Ne gli epigrammi suoi Cornelio Gallo."

Vita di MECENATE, parte prima.

⁶ This is the same Gallus, if I am not mistaken, says Ammianus, whom Virgil has bewailed in a mild kind of verse, in the latter end of his Bucolics.

To the aforesaid instances of gross misbehayour and indiscretion on the part of Gallus, it is added, that at last, to fill up the measure of all his offences, he conspired against his benefactor. But of this conspiracy, says Blackwell, we have the most imperfect knowledge; we are not informed who were concerned in it, how far it was carried, how it was discovered, what was either its end, or object; or in a word, any one authentic circumstance relating to it. whence the learned principal is inclined to think, that the whole story might have been built on fiction, and had no other foundation than that of great imprudence arising from excessive vanity and wine?. Had there been any thing of a more criminal nature in his conduct. the hapless Ovid, whilst soliciting his pardon in a foreign land, would not have ventured to say. that indiscreet conversation in his wine was the sole cause of his ruin. Ovid, though a poet, may be considered as an authority fully sufficient for ascertaining the cause of Augustus's displeasure, and of the senate's subsequent proceedings. Ovid himself, it is true, had fallen

⁷ Indiscretion over his bottle, seems to have been his deepest guilt.—BLACKWELL.

under the emperor's displeasure, and though he never made a discovery of his own disgrace, he was surely competent, from his situation, and the information he received, to ascertain what caused the emperor's displeasure in the case of another. He, together with Dio, ascribes all the errors of Gallus to a too great licentiousness of conversation used in his cups.

Lycoris praising, none could Gallus blame, And wine, not verses, furnished all his fame³.

Ovid, in his elegy on the death of Tibullus, again confirms his innocence, and attributes to a false friend the charges brought against him.

And Gallus, too profuse of life and blood, If no sad breach of friendship's law deprive, This band immortal of the blest and good, Thy shade shall join, if shades at all survive?

⁸ Non fuit opprobrio celebrasse Lycorida Gallo Sed linguam nimio non tenuisse mero.
OVID, 2 l. de Tristibus.

Tu quoque (si falsum est temerati crimen amici)
Sangennis atque anime, prodige, Galle, tue.
His comes umbra tua est—si quà est modo corporis umbra.

Some unguarded expressions probably escaped him in his hours of wanton levity, which being conveyed to the prince by some false friend, laid the foundation of all his misfortunes. We are told that Gallus had a curious cup, on which was engraved the story of Tantalus pursuing in vain the flying liquor; and what may be considered as a singular circumstance is, that we have still extant a poem written on the subject of this cup, and ascribed

Propertius notices Gallus in the latter end of his second book, in the following lines:

Et modo formosa qui multa Lycoride Gallus Mortuus inferna vulnera Lavit aqua.

Madame de Villedieu, in her romantic account of the exiles of the court of Augustus, ascribes, like a true French-woman, all Gallus's misfortunes to his love of Cytheris or Lycoris, whom, she says, he found cultivating philosophy in a delicious island in the Nile, and to whom he offered a crown, which she refused, and used all her influence pour le faire cesser. The story is told by Gallus himself to his friend Virgil, and begins in these words, "L'amour, mon cher Virgile, est le foible des plus grands hommes. Seul il a causè mon crime c'est aussi de lui seul que j'espere mon pardon."

Verba, rem levissimam, pœna sequitur gravissima.
PLATO.

to Gallus, in which the very frailty he was guilty of, is elegantly exposed, and a caution given to others not to fall into like errors.

In consequence of Gallus's misconduct he was recalled, and Petronius appointed in his place. As soon as he returned to Rome, one Elius (or as others say, Valerius) Largus, who had been numbered amongst his intimate friends. became his accuser; and for the crimes of which he was arraigned, Augustus forbade him the court, and banished him from all the provinces of his department'. In the division of provinces which Augustus made with the senate, he reserved some to himself; the provinces of this latter description were those wherein he had legions of which he was secure, and the provinces which were left to the disposal of the senate, were those from which he entertained no apprehensions.

After this precipitate order of the prince, Gallus was forsaken by all his friends; and accusations multiplied from every quarter. Then



Et ob ingratum et malevolum animum domo et provinciis suis interdixit.—Suet.

Dignus mos generositatê Romanâ, palam indicere inimicitias, et domo interdicere.

the matter was laid before the senate, who after a hearing of all that could be urged against him, condemned him to banishment, with a forfeiture of his whole estate. Gallus was so much affected by the severity of the sentence, that he killed himself in the year of Rome 727, according to the account given by Eusebius, though the following year is the one which is assigned to the event by Dio.

Augustus, it is said, lamented his death, and complained that he alone had not the liberty to be angry with his friends just so far as he had a mind. Suctonius gives us a more detailed account of the real or affected feelings of the emperor, on being made acquainted with the news of his death. When Gallus, by the threats of his accusers, and the votes of the senate, was driven to the desperate necessity of laying violent hands upon himself, Augustus commended the attachment of the senate that had shewn so much proper resentment on his account, but

² Blackwell supposes Gallus might have disliked the searpstion of Augustus, and despised the great men of Rome, for allowing him to be their master; knowing that he, Cornelius Gallus, in point of law, had as much title to be the first man in Rome, as Cains Octavius.

at the same time shed tears, and lamented his condition in these words: "How unhappy am I, that cannot be permitted to be angry with my friends to such a degree as I think proper."

Fortanini enters into long dissertation on the subject of Gallus's behaviour in Egypt, and thinks him not entirely innocent of the charges alledged against him. Eusebius says, Cornelius Gallus, the Forojuliensian poet by whom Egypt was governed, killed himself with his own hand in the fortieth year of his age. Of whatever offence Gallus was guilty, Cæsar never pardoned it, if we are to give credit to the story which is told of his requesting Virgil to expunge the eulogy on him in the end of the fourth Georgis. The story of Aristeus and the Bees was substituted in its place, which, though beautiful, makes no amends for the loss sustained in being deprived of our hero's character.

The senate ordered a solemn thanksgiving to be returned to the Gods for the discovery and



^{3 -} Et illachrimaviz et vicem suam conquestas est, quod Sibi soli non liceret, quatenus vellet, amicis irasci. Suer. Aug. 66.

And letter'd Gallus, who so ill return'd
His sovereign bounty, guilty fell, yet mourn'd.

Roman Portraits.—JEPHSON.

suppression of Gallus's conspiracy⁴, just as if he had been a public enemy, and as if the safety of the state depended on putting an end to his wicked machinations: and yet neither the decree of the senate, nor the countenance of Augustus, could screen his accusar from general indignation. He was detested as an informer, as a traitor to his friend, and looked upon as a wretch against whom one could not be sufficiently guarded. Proculeius⁵ happening one day to meet Largus in the street, instantly applied his hand to his mouth and nose, to signify that he did not consider it safe even to breathe in the presence of such a man. Another person, says Dio, accosted him with witnesses, though un-

⁴ An infamous informer, says Jephson in a note to his Roman Portraits, accused Gallus of being engaged in a sort of conspiracy against the emperor, of which the prone and servile senators taking cognisance, sentenced him to banishment and confiscation.

⁵ Proculeius and Gallus were the two trusty persons employed by Augustus to save not only the treasures, but the life of Cleopatra, whose presence he most anxiously wished might adorn his triumph;—

[&]quot;Would be eternal in our triumph."

Antony & Cleopatra.—SHAKESPEAR.

acquainted with him; and after asking him if he knew who he was, Largus answering, No: he requested those who were with him to bear testimony of what he said, as if it was not in the power of a bad man to calumniate persons he never saw. This is considered as a farther proof that Gallus was rather guilty of some folly and indiscretion than of any real crime. For, says Blackwell, had he actually conspired against his prince, the person who discovered his designs would have been thought to act the part of a good citizen rather than that of a traitor. The said writer looks on his melancholy end as the blot of Augustus's life, which he compares to Alexander's killing his friend Calisthenes.

Gallus lived at the same time with Virgil, and is supposed to have been three or four years

⁶ Amongst the crimes brought against Gallus by Augustus was, that "of his receiving into his family a freedman who had been turned out of the house of Agrippa on a suspicion of living too familiarly with his wife, the daughter of Pomponius Atticus, by whom the young man had been recommended for her instruction in polite literature." Such conduct on the part of Gallus was considered by the emperor, says Suetonius in his account of illustrious Grammarians, inter gravissima crimins.—See a Note in my Life of Atticus, p. 121.

younger than the poet, who introduces him to our acquaintance in his sixth ecloque, in a way which considerably excites our curiosity. Virgil is describing the evil effects of irregular passion; which after having done, he then notices the happy condition of a wise man, who devotes his whole time to the peaceful studies of polite literature, and under this character takes occasion to pay a most elegant compliment to his poetical friend Gallus. He represents him as being introduced by one of the Muses to the presence of Apollo; when the whole assembly rises up to do him honor, and Linus presents him with the pipe which of old belonged to Hesiod. No higher compliment could be paid to Gallus as a poet, than for the Muses to rise up on his being brought into their company. A like mark of respect was paid to Virgil by the people of Rome, who rose up when his verses were recited in the public theatre, and shewed. the same reverence to his person, as they did to that of Augustus himself, as appears from the following account given of it in the Dialogue de Oratoribus. How eligible was the soft retreat in which Virgil passed his days, loved by his prince, and honoured by the people. To prove this, the letters of Augustus are still extant; and the people, we know, hearing in the theatre some verses of that divine poet, when he was himself present, rose in a body, and paid him every mark of homage, with a degree of veneration nothing short of what they usually offered to the emperor. Let us hear the poet himself, in the versification of Dryden:

Then sung, how Gallus by a Muse's hand, Was led, and welcom'd to the sacred strand.

⁷ Tum can't errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallam Aonas in Montes ut duxerit una sororum;
Utque viro Phœbi chorus assurrexerit omnis:
Ut Linus hæc illi divino carmina pastor,
Floribus atque apio crines ornatus amaro,
Dixerit: hos tibi dant calamos, en accipe, Musæ;
Ascreo quos ante seni; quibus illi solebat
Cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos:
His tibi Grynæi* Nemoris dicatur origo
Ne quis sit lucus, quo se plus jactet Apollo.

^{*} Gallus, it is said, made the Grynean Grove the subject of one of his poems, in which he imitated the style of Hesiod. A very elegant compliment is paid to this poem by Virgil when he says, Gallus will make the Grove become the favourite abode of Apollo. Euphronion had written a poem on the Grove of Gryneum, wherein he imitated Hesiod, and this poem Gallus is supposed about this time to have either translated or copied. Near Classomena, a city of Asia, is the Gryneum Grove, where Apollo is worshipped.

The senate rising to salute their guest,
And Linus thus their gratitude express'd:
Receive this present, by the Muses made:
The pipe on which th' Ascrean Pastor play'd,
With which of old he charm'd the savage train,
And call'd the mountain ashes to the plain.
Sing thou on this, thy Phœbus, and the wood
Where once his fane of Parian marble stood.

At the time this eclogue was written, Gallus in all probability was wholly engaged in literary pursuits, and happy had it been for him, had he never forsaken them. The tenth eclogue is expressly addressed to Gallus, whom the poet represents under the character of a forsaken shepherd, complaining of the cruelty of his mistress, with all the rural deities about him, pitying his hard usage, and condoling his misfortune:

Thy sacred succour, Arethusa, bring⁸,
To crown my labour: 'tis the last I sing:
Which proud Lycoris may with pity view;
The Muse is mournful, tho' the numbers few;
Refuse me not a verse, to grief and Gallus due.

Blackwell says, Gallus was a man of great spirit, but unhappy both in love and friendship,

Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede.

Paucs meo Gallo, sed que legat ipsa Lycoris,

Carmina sunt dicenda: neget quis carmina Gallo?

excepting the protection which he gave Virgil, who has repaid him with immortality. The expression of meo Gallo, used by Virgil, is a proof of Gallus being his friend, and the farther expression of Neget quis carmina Gallo, "who can refuse praise to Gallus," is an additional proof of the estimation in which he held him. Ovid mentions Lycoris as the subject of Gallus's poems.

Gallus from east to west shall spread his name, And fair Lycoris share her poet's fame?.

Martial, in enumerating the several poets who owed their genius to Love, ascribes to Lycoris the poetry of Gallus ¹⁰.

The writings of Gallus are now all unfortunately lost, for such as go under his name are considered by the most candid judges to be spurious: but of them we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter.

In the course of Virgil's address to Gallus in the aforesaid eclogue, the poet accosts the Naiads or Nymphs who preside over the foun-

Gallus, et Hesperiis et Gallus notus Eoïs, Et sua cum Gallo nota Lycoris crit.

Ovid: Am. lib. 1. el. 15.

¹⁰ Ingenium Galli pulchra Lycoris erat.—Lib. 8, ep. 73.

tains which have their rise in Parnassus, Pindus and Helicon, and chides them for not coming to comfort Gallus in his despair. Herein, says Ruæus, conveying a tacit reproof to Gallus himself for yielding to Love, and neglecting his poetical studies,

What lawns or woods withheld you from his aid, Ye Nymphs, when Gallus was to love betrayed, To love, unpity'd by the cruel maid?

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This passage is an imitation of Theocritus, who asks the Nymphs how it came to pass, that when Daphnis died, they were not in the delicious vales of Peneus, on the banks of the great torrent Anapus, by the sacred waters of Acis, or on the summits of Mount Æta, because all these were the favourite haunts of the shepherd Daphnis. Milton, in imitation of both Theocritus and Virgil, thus exclaims in his Lycidas:

Where were ye, Nymphs, when the remorseless deep Clos'd o'er the head of your lov'd Lycidas? For neither were ye playing on the steep, Where your old Bards, the famous Druids, lie, Nor on the shaggy top of Mona high, Nor yet where Deva spreads her wizard stream.

Que nemora, aut qui saltus habuere, puelle Naiades, indigno oum Gallus amore periret?

The surprise expressed by the poet at the Nymphs not coming to soothe Gallus in his distress, is considerably heightened, when he extends the grief to the trees, and even to the very stones:

For him the lofty laurel stands in tears 2,
And hung with humid pearls the lofty shrub appears.

Mænalian pines the godlike swain bemoan,
When spread beneath a rock he sigh'd alone,
And cold Lycæus wept from ev'ry dropping stone.

In the sixth eclogue, already noticed, Virgil says, his muse did not blush to dwell in the woods; and in the one at present under consideration he observes, that he is not ashamed of his sheep, and consequently hopes his friend Gallus will not be displeased with his representing him under the same fictitious character with himself. As we proceed in the same eclogue, we find that Gallus was at that time known not only as a poet, but as a soldier. The notoriety of the first is evident from Virgil saying that Apollo, the God of Poetry, came to his relief before all the other dei-

² Illum etiam lauri, illum etiam ffevere myricæ. Pinifer illum etiam sola sub rupe jacentem Menahus, et gefidi fleverunt saxa Lycæi.

ties; and that he was a soldier, appears from his immediately going to discharge his military duties for the sake of dissipating the grief he felt at being forsaken by his mistress. In this state of mind, it is said, Parthenius dedicated to him his treatise of Amorous Affections, thinking by it to console him under his disappointment. Whilst protected by Gallus, Parthenius became

Aulus Gellius tells us the following verse is taken from Parthenius—

Паихи кан Napes, кан Енгайн Медекертя
which Virgil has happily imitated—
Glauco et Panopeæ et Inoo Melicertæ.—Georgic, 1.1, 437.

³ These Equition Machinectus—A Latin translation was made of this work by James Cornarus, and printed at Basil in 1531. The translator conjectures that the design of Parthenius was to console Cornelius Gallus, who had. run distracted for the love of Lycoris. Besides, a new motive for his translating and publishing this work was, that young persons, who are of too loose a disposition, might learn to bridle their affection; but Cornarus observes, that this kind of medicament was considered by some peevish censors as a real poison. To all this, Bayle says, I see no reason why the translator ventures. to make conjectures, seeing that the text of Parthenius informs him of the object of the dedication, in which the author affirms that he addressed his collection to Gallus, as a piece that would furnish materials very suitable to the poems he was then writing.

known to Virgil, and their respective merits soon produced mutual esteem and mutual friendship. Virgil applied to him as a master, and learned from him the structure and elegance of Greek versification. Macrobius says, that Virgil transcribed some of Parthenius's verses into his own works. Parthenius was born in Nicæa, and as a subject of Mithridates, was taken prisoner by Cinna, who carried him to Rome, where he shortly obtained his freedom, and where his acquirements as a scholar and talents as a poet gave him almost at once an immediate access to the society of the learned. Blackwell says, his compositions were marked by a peculiar sweetness, such as is admired in the divine Petrarch, and that that sweetness was peculiarly adapted to the subjects of them. His first essays, when a young man, were addressed to Venus, and his treatise entitled the Loves of the Heroes, was inscribed to Gallus, with a dedication which, as a matter of some curiosity, I shall give in the translation of Blackwell, which is marked by his own peculiar phraseology.—It runs thus:

"SIR—Being of opinion that this collection of love-disasters could be no where more properly addressed than to you, I send it, reduced to as narrow a compass as was in my power. It will help you to understand some things which are but hinted at by the poets, and you may employ the greatest part of the incidents in elegy or epic, as you may judge convenient: for having retrenched the superfluous circumstances with which they are commonly related, you will be able to form a truer judgment of them, than when you are led into ambiguities. They are collected in the form of memoirs, upon which other works may be formed, and as is my duty, are now offered to you."

Parthenius 1 lived to an advanced age, and died in the reign of Tiberius 5, who is said to have taken so much pleasure in his verses, that he had them all collected, from an idea that they were better than the productions of any of the

Macrobius says, that Parthenius was the writer whom Tibullus made the object of his imitation.

⁵ Lucian, a better judge of poetry than Tiberius, is not so partial to them as the emperor. Homer, says that witty writer, though he be a poet, yet runs through the stories of Tantalus, Ixion, Tityus and others in a very few words—But if, adds he, Parthenius, Euphronion, or Callimachus, were to write concerning them, what a number of verses would they employ to bring the water to Tantalus's lips, and how many to make Ixion turn on his wheel.

then modern poets. Besides this mark of respect, it is even added, that he set up his statue along with those of Rhianus and Euphorion in his library, two writers of the same description with Parthenius. Tiberius himself wrote some Greek poems in imitation of these poets; whom, says Suetonius, he admired greatly, and set up not only their works, but their statues in the public libraries amongst the eminent authors of antiquity.

But to return to Virgil—Throughout the whole eclogue we have been considering, the poet seems anxious to inform his reader that Gallus is of a character very different from that of a shepherd. He even makes an apology for the liberty which he takes with him under the assumed pastoral appearance; and then immediately after makes it evident that he was not only a person of a higher order of beings, but that he had a command in the army. was quite necessary on the part of Virgil, after having chosen to describe Gallus under his real name: had he used a fictitious appellation, he would have been at liberty to keep up the character of the shepherd entire through the whole poem. Gallus then tells Lycoris, how happy he might have been had he been born in Arcadias:

for in that case he would never have been acquainted with the infidelity of his mistress. His exclamation on the happy state in which they might have passed their time, is in Virgil's best manner, and is thus translated by Mr. Warton.

Here cooling fountains roll through flow'ry meads⁶,
Here woods, Lycoris, lift their verdant heads;
Here could I wear my careless life away,
And in thy arms insensibly decay.
But disappointed in these fond illusions, what
is his determination? it is as follows:

But furious love denies me soft repose?, And hurls me on the pointed spears of foes.

As Gallus now becomes the principal character in the eclogue, the poet notices the various resolutions which are so hastily adopted, and so hastily laid aside by people in love. His first resolution is to amuse himself with poetry.

But let me run to deserts, and rehearse ⁸ On my Sicilian reeds, Euphorion's verse.

⁶ Hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata Lycori: Hic nemus, hic ipso tecum consumerer ævo.

Nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis, Tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostes.

Blbo, et Chalcidico que sunt mihi condita versu Carmina, pastoris Siculi modulabor avena.

Chalcidico versu, in the strain of Euphorion, who was the Son of Polymnetus of Chalcis in Enbosa.

Next he resolves to spend his life among the woods, and to carve his passion on the trees—

On smoothest rinds of trees I'll carve my woe 9, And as the rinds increase, the love shall grow.

And afterwards he declares he will try the diversion of hunting:

Then on Arcadian mountains will I chase 10, (Mix'd with the woodland Nymphs) the savage race.

As soon as Gallus found that none of the amusements to which he had recourse, were sufficient to cure his passion, he at last concludes that love is invincible, and that there is no resisting the powerful God.

Omnia vincit amor, et nos cedamus amori.

We are now arrived, with the assistance of the judicious observations of the Cambridge professor of botany, to the end of the tenth eclogue, in which the poet tells us he has performed enough in such an humble way of writing, and which he figuratively expresses by saying,

⁹ Certum est in Sylvis, inter Spelæa ferarum Malle pati, tenerisque meos incidere amores Arboribus, crescent illæ, crescetis amores.

Interea mixtis lustrabo Mænala Nymphis, Aut acres venabor apros, &c.

Hac sat crit, Divæ, vestrum cecinisse poetam Dum sedet, et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco.

Afterwards he intreats the Muses to add dignity to his song, that it may become worthy of Gallus, for whom his love is continually increasing.

Gallus, for whom my holy flames renew, Each hour, and ev'ry moment rise in view.

We observed before, that Virgil closed his fourth Georgic with the praise of Gallus, and also that he expunged the same by the express command of Augustus. The whole account rests on the authority of Donatus, but the truth of it is called in question by Ruæus, on the following considerations—First, that the story of Aristæus is well connected with the subject of the book, which treats of bees, and appears naterally to rise from it.—Secondly, that it is not probable Virgil would have bestowed any large portion of his work on the praise of Gallus, after having given but a few lines to Maccenas himself, to whom the whole poem is dedicated; and lastly, it is not to be supposed that Augustus would have grudged Gallus a little empty praise,

Pierides—vos hæc facietis maxima Gallo, Gallo—cujus amor tantum mihi crescit in horas, Quantum vere novo viridis se subjicit alnus.

whose untimely death, Suetonius says, he lamented with tears ².

Quintilian speaks of Gallus as an elegiac poet, and thinks his style rather harsher than that of either Tibullus or Propertius³. " In elegiac poetry, (continues the same writer), we rival the Greeks, and in this Tibullus appears to me to write with the most propriety and elegance. There are some people who prefer Propertius, but in my opinion Ovid 4 is more incorrect, and

Virgilium vidi tantum: nec avara Tibullo Tempus amicitiæ fata dedere meæ, Successor fuit hic tibi, Galle: Propertius illi, Quartus ab his serie temporis ipse fui.

Ovid. de Tristibus, l. 4.

² Some people are of opinion that the story of Aristæus flows more naturally from the subject than the two fine conclusions of the first and second books, which have never been called in question by the critics.

Births and deaths of the following poets mentioned by Ovid, with the years annexed, as nearly as they can be ascertained—Virgil, b. A. U. C. 684; d. 735—Tibul-lus, b. 690; d. 734, or 735—Gallus, b. 687; d. 737—Propertius, b. 702; d. 740—Ovid, b. 710; d. 771.

^{. 4} In the beginning of the fifth book, Ovid speaks of his own writings, with an allowion to these of Gallus and Properties.

Gallus more harsh than either." The harshness, however, which is ascribed by Quintilian to Gallus's compositions, is consequently relative, when brought into comparison with those of Tibullus and Propertius: Gallus wrote four books of elegies in praise of Lycoris, who is called by other writers Cytheris, according to Servius in his observations on the tenth ecloque. Aurelius Victor calls her Cytheris, and says she was loved by Antony, and Gallus, and also by Notwithstanding the authority of Brutus 5. Aurelius Victor, it is probable Lycoris and Cytheris were not the same person. From what Cicero says in one of his Philippics, there can be no doubt of Antony's attachment to a famous courtezan named Cytheris; his passion for her was at it's height in the year 704, when he was tribune, and it was not till twelve years after, that Virgil wrote the eclogue in which he de-

[&]quot; Delicias si quis lascivaque carmina quærit,

[&]quot;Præmoneo nunquam scripta quod ista legat."

Aptior his Gallus, blandique Propertius oris.

⁵ Cytheridem Mimam cum Antonio et Gallo amavit Brutus.—From this passage of Aurelius Victor, it appears that Brutus himself was not insensible to love.

scribes Gallus as inconsolable for being forsaken; consequently the preferred rival was not Antony, but some other person, who bore a command at that time in the district of the Alps. If Lycoris was the same person with Cytheris, who captivated Antony, what attachment, or constancy, could have been expected from her? It is difficult to conceive that Virgil, whose manners were correct, and morals unimpeachable, would have celebrated the foolish passion of his friend, for a woman who had long been looked upon as infamous.

Besides the four books of elegies written by Gallus, it is said he translated some books of Euphronion from the Greek into Latin, and wrote some treatises on eloquence.

The poem entitled Cyris, which in certain editions is added to the works of Virgil, and to whom it is ascribed by some, is believed by others to be the work of Gallus; among whom is Guisto Fontanini⁶, who gives his reasons for being of this latter opinion. Of all the writings

⁶ Giusto Fontanini died much regretted in 1736: there were few eminent men of letters throughout Europe, with whom he did not cultivate an acquaintance.—His treatise Dell' Eloquenza Italiana is the best known, but his literary history of Aquileia, alluded to in the text, is a work replete with curious erudition.

imputed to Gallus, there are none which are now considered as genuine, for the elegies which were printed with his name by Pomponio Gaurico in the beginning of the sixteenth century, are certainly not his compositions 7.

To conclude, though not a vestige of Gallus's writings remain, his name is still celebrated: the praises bestowed upon him by his contemporaries have survived, and made posterity at the distance of near two thousand years anxious to hear his story. In vain did Augustus endeavour to suppress his fame—in vain did imperial resentment strive to obstruct his reputation as a poet: his name as a poet still lives, though his works which gave celebrity to that name, are lost. So true it is, that superiority of genius is alone that which secures immortality to the possessor⁸.

Man unreluctant meets the general doom, His mind embalm'd, defies the o'erwhelming tomb: Lives in fresh vigor thro' succeeding years, Nor yields it's powers whilst nature guides the spheres.

THE END.

⁷ The elegies which are commonly attributed to Gallus, were written by a Barbarian, of the name of Maximianus.

⁸ Ingenii præclara monumenta, sicut anima, immortalia sunt.—Sallust.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE

OF

THE ELDER

SCIPIO AFRICANUS;

WITH

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY

THE REV. EDWARD BERWICK.

Scipio Africanus superior, quem dii immortales nasci voluerunt, ut esset in quo se virtus per omnes numeros hominibus efficaciter ostenderet.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR ROBERT TRIPHOOK, OLD BOND-STREET;
AND HODGES AND MCARTHUR, DUBLIN;

By B. M'Millan, Bow-Street, Covent-Garden.

1817.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY GRATTAN,

AS A SMALL, BUT SINCERE TRIBUTE OF ESTEEM AND GRATITUDE,

THIS LIFE

ΛÞ

SCIPIO AFRICANUS,
is humbly dedicated,

BY HIS ATTACHED FRIEND,

AND DEVOTED HUMBLE SERVANT,

EDWARD BERWICK.

Esher, July, 1817.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THERE have been several Lives composed of Scipio Africanus the Elder by ancient writers, of which no fragments now remain. Aulus Gellius mentions the names of two of them, Caius Oppius, and Julius Hyginus, who lived in the reign of Augustus. The loss of the Life of Scipio, supposed to be written by Plutarch, is the one principally to be regretted. Of his modern Biographers, one wrote in Latin, and the other in French. The name of the first is Donoto Accioli, a Florentine, who flourished in the fifteenth century: his Life of Scipio was translated into French by Charles de l'Escluse, and from French into English by Sir Thomas North, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The name of the French Biographer is the Abbé Seran de la Tour. who wrote about the middle of the last century. His Life was translated into English by the Rev. Richard Parry, in the year 1787. It may excite some surprise, that no historical memorial of such an illustrious man was ever undertaken by an English writer, except a very abridged one by a Mr. Smith of Preston, in the year 1713. Whether the following Sketch, which is now humbly offered to

the Public, agreeably to promise, does sufficient justice to his character, must be left to the judgment of the candid reader.

Dr. Warburton observed with some justness of wit, that Mallet, in his Life of Bacon, had forgotten that he was a philosopher. If a like observation should be applied to the Editor of the present Life, that he has forgotten that Scipio was a general, he must bow with submission, as the battle of Zama alone has obtained a place in the following compilation; Scipio being, in his mind, much more interesting in his civil, than military capacity, though in the latter he outstripped the greatest captain that ever lived.

The Editor intends, should the present account of Scipio receive the approbation of the public, to give an Historical Sketch of such other branches of that Noble Family, as induced the historian of the Roman Empire to denominate Italy the country of the Scipios. A Pedigree of the Family will be given, to illustrate the whole,

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

Clarorum virorum atque magnorum non minus otii, quam negotii rationem exstare oportere.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

ÓF

SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

Publius Cornelius Scipio, distinguished from the great men of his family by the sirname of Africanus, was the son of Publius Cornelius Scipio, and born in Rome in the year of the city five hundred and seventeen. Of such particulars as may have attended his early life, history is silent: the name of his mother Pomponia is barely mentioned, but that of his preceptor is not; consequently it is useless to form any conjectures relative either to the kind of education he received, or to the care and pains which were expended on it. We may naturally suppose he had the best masters to instruct him

Auspicatius enectâ parentê gignuntur: sicut Scipio Africanus prior natus, primusque Cæsarum à cæso matris utero dietus: quâ de causâ et Cæsones appelluti.—PLINT, l. 7, c. 9.

in whatever learning was then in fashion at Rome, as well as in the elements and general principles of the military profession. If he had not the properest masters provided for this purpose, he had at least in his own family, his father and uncle, with whom he served his first campaign at the age of seventeen. Until that period, his name is not noticed in history, and at that time indeed he appears in a light, which claims our particular attention, and makes him an object of peculiar interest. He appears in the most arduous struggle which ever engaged two powerful nations; a struggle in which mankind witnessed the most splendid display of heroic virtues ever exhibited to the world. For Rome, at that crisis, relying on the wisdom of her senate, the courage of her people, and the magnanimity of both, found resources in herself adequate to her situation, and rose from every defeat more glorious, and more formidable².

At Patres, quanquam exterrent immania cœpta,
Inque sinu bellum; atque Alpes, et pervia saxa
Decepêre: tamen crudam contra aspera mentem,
Et magnos tollunt animos: juvat ire periclis
Ad decus, et dextrâ memorandum condere nomen,
Quale dedit nunquam rebus fortuna secundis.

SILIUS ITALICUS, 1. 4, 1. 33.

Through wounds, through losses no decay can feel, Collecting strength and spirit from the steel³.

At this premature age the young Scipio was placed by his father on a rising ground, with a few select attendants, near the river Ticinus, at the moment when the battle, which gives it celebrity, was fought on its banks⁴. During the engagement his father, who commanded the Roman legions, was severely wounded⁵, and appeared as if in danger of being surrounded by a large body of the enemy. The son, alarmed at what he beheld, called to his companions to run to his father's assistance: for a time his young friends seemed to hesitate, on which the youth drove his horse with great impetuosity into the midst of the assailants⁶, and with the

HORACE, Odes 1. 4, o. 4.

SIL. l. 4, l. 455.

Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso Ducit opes, animumque ferro.

^{*} Valerius Maximus.—L. 5, c. 4.

⁵ Hîc, puer ut patrio defixum corpore telum Conspexit, maduere genæ, subitoque trementem Corripuit pallor, gemitumque ad sidera rupit.

^{6 ——}Fertur per tela, per hostes Intrepidus puer, et Gradivum passibus æquat. Silius, l. 4, l. 460.

assistance of those who were now ashamed not to follow, rescued his father from most imminent danger?.

At seventeen years,
When Carthage made a head for Rome, he fought
Beyond the mark of others8.

The consul was the first to proclaim aloud that he owed his preservation to his son, and greeted him with the glorious title of Deliverer?. On returning to his camp, he ordered a civic crown to be presented to him, which was refused with this magnanimous declaration, "that the action was one that rewarded itself."

——He rewards His deeds with doing them.

⁷ Livy, l. 21, c. 96.

⁸ Shakespeare.

⁹ Cælius the historian, ascribes the honor of the consul's preservation to a Ligurian slave; but the report of one writer cannot prevail against a host of others. Now what does Polybius say? He asserts that he had the anecdote from the mouth of Lælius.

¹⁰ Civica Corona appellatur, quam civis civi, à quo servatus est, in prælio testem vitæ, salutisque perceptæ dat.—Aulus Gellius.

It is on this occasion Pliny makes the following judicious reflection, in application to the materials of that crown, which consisted only of a few oaken boughs. "How incomparable the morality of those days, and justly deserving of immortality. How refined the wisdom of the men, who conferred no higher reward on noble exploits and distinguished worth, than honor alone; and inasmuch as all other military crowns are enriched and adorned with gold, our ancestors would not set the life of a citizen at any price: a plain proof of the excellency of their feelings, who would have blushed at mixing views of interest with an action so natural, as that of one citizen saving the life of another."

The above amiable instance of filial affection, Polybius says², he learned from the mouth of the elder Lectius, who was witness to all the words and actions of Scipio, from his childhood to his death. By such a display of virtuous magnanimity, Scipio acquired the reputation of a man, whose courage was undaunted, and whose conduct was guided in all his actions by good sense and prudence³. Such an action,

² Pliny, l. 16, c. 4.

² Lib. 10.

³ Avoir conservi toute la presence et la fermete d'esprit

with the circumstances attending it, was in itself sufficient to excite the ambition, which a young Roman of high birth might feel, and one of such a nature as might encourage him to raise his hopes to the most glorious enterprises. It proved to Seipio an incentive to his seizing every opportunity that occurred, of displaying his zeal and courage in defence of his country. The next interesting situation in which we find our young hero placed, is that which immediately succeeded the battle of Cannæ4; a situation the most critical in the history of Rome, when the fates of the civilised world were suspended between two rival nations. Scipio was a legionary tribune on that unfortunate day; and when he found that the battle was lost, he withdrew the evening after it,

SIL. 1. 9, J. 275.

necessaires, pour agir dans une rencontre si inopinèe, et si malheureuse dans sa premiere campagne, et à l'age de dix sept ans, si ce n'est pas la vraie valeur, j'avoue que je ne m'y connois pas.—L'ABBE DE SAINT-REAL, de la Valeur.

⁴ Silius Italicus gives Scipio a share in the battle: His super, insidias contra, Nomadumque volucrem Scipiadæ datur ire manum, quæque artê, dolisque Scindent se turmæ, prædicit spargere bellum.

with some young friends, to Canusium⁵, a town in the vicinity of Cannæ, still adhering to the interest of the republic. At this important crisis he shewed what the patriotic zeal of a young Roman, governed by the prudence and steadiness of riper years, was able to accomplish. All was dismay and confusion; terror was painted in the countenances of both officers and men. At such a moment, all present with one voice chose him their captain, together with Appius Claudius, until they should be able to rejoin their superior officers. Whilst they were considering what was best to be done, Publius

⁵ Canusium oppidum Apuliæ, ubi suscepti Romani hospitio, fractis rebus.

The picture of the distressed condition of the broken remains of the Roman army collected at Canusium, is well pourtrayed by Silius Italicus in his tenth book:

[—]Heu rebus facies inhonora sinistris.

Non aquilæ, non signa viris, non consulis altum
Imperium, non subnixæ lictore secures.

Trunca, atque ægra metu, ceu magna elisa ruina
Corpora debilibus nituntur sistere membris.
Clamor sæpe repens, et sæpe silentia fixis
In tellurem oculis; nudæ plerisque sinistræ.

Detrito clypeo: desunt pugnacibus enses:
Saucius omnis eques: galeis carpsêre superbum,
Cristarum decus, et damnarunt Martis honores.

Furius Philus, the son of a consular man, came forward and said6, "That it was in vain for them to cherish hopes which were now irretrievable: that the commonwealth was despaired of, and given up as lost; that several young men of the first families in Rome, at the head of whom was Lucius Cecilius Metellus7, were resolved to embark at the first port, and fly from Italy, to put themselves under the protection of any king who would give them an asylum in his dominions." This afflicting news. independent of the serious evil it carried along with it, succeeding so suddenly such a train of misfortunes, struck the meeting at once with affright and horror. All unanimously gave it as their opinion, that a council should be summoned to take into consideration the nature of the intelligence. Scipio, who was not more than nineteen years of age, whom the fates had

⁶ Livy, l. 22, c. 53.

Dux erat ex illo collectis Martê Metellus,
Sed stirpe haud parvi cognominis. Is mala hello
Pectora, degeneremque manum ad deformia agebat
Consulta; atque alio positas spectabat in orbe,
Quis sese occulerent terras; quò nomina nulla
Pœnorum, aut patriæ penetraret fama relictæ.
Silius, l. 10, l. 420.

predestinated to be the great captain and conductor of this war, declared8, "That the business demanded vigour and action, not deliberation; that all who wished the preservation of the republic, should attend him armed, as they were; for, (said he), no place can with more truth be called the camp of the enemy, than that wherein such counsels are debated9." Forthwith attended by a few, he burst like lightning into the chamber of Metellus, where finding the young patricians met in deep consultation, he drew his sword, and holding it over their heads as they sat, thus addressed them: " I swear that I will never abandon the republic of the Roman people, nor suffer one of her citizens to desert it. If knowingly I break this oath, then do you, Jupiter, supremely good and great, overwhelm with ruin myself, my house, my family, and my fortune. I call on you, Metellus, I call on all who are present, to take the same oath. Whoever will not swear, let that

^{8 &}quot;Audendum atque agendum, non consultandum, in tanto malo esse. Irent secum extemplo armati, qui rempublicam salvam vellent. Nullo verius, quam ubi ea cogitentur, hostium castra esse."—Such is the concise and spirited language of Livy, l. 22, c. 53.

Val. Maximus, 1. 5, c. 6.

man know that against him this sword is drawn." By such a glorious display of manly patriotism, the god-like youth not only presented an example of piety in his own person, but recalled it at the moment when forsaking the breasts of others 10. Struck with as much astonishment as if they had seen the victorious Carthaginian in the room, they all took the oath, and committed themselves and fortunes to the guidance of Scipio.

——He stopt the fliers,

And by his rare example, made the coward

Turn terror into sport.

Thus did the gallant youth, after saving his father's life at the battle of Ticinus, save his country after the battle of Cannæ; and shewed himself worthy of the choice they had made. Scipio remained for some time at Canusium², and

¹⁰ Val. Maximus, l. 5, c. 6.

¹ Cladê Cannènsi nobilissimos juvenes, Italiam deserere cupientes, sua auctoritate compescuit.—Aub. Victob.

² Appian, without any allusion to this magnanimous conduct of the young Scipio, says that Varro, after collecting the remains of his broken army as well as he could at Canusium, marched for Rome, leaving the command of them to Scipio, a military tribune.

the parts adjacent, animating whatever remains of the scattered army could be collected, with whom he acted until he was superseded by Marcellus on his assuming the command. At this time his father and uncle were employed in Spain, and their success was of that encouraging nature at first, as to inspire his elder brother Lucius with the hopes of offering himself a candidate for the ædileship.

This incident afforded his younger brother another opportunity of presenting himself in such an amiable point of view, as serves to keep up the interest already excited in his favour. Lucius possessed all the legal qualifications necessary for the office, and wanted only the affections of the people. His mother was particularly anxious he should succeed, and for promoting his success, had recourse, as was usual, to prayers and sacrifices. Publius, who warmly espoused the feelings of his mother, possessed the affections of the people, but had not the qualifications which were required by law: When the day of election was at hand, he told his mother he had twice dreamed the same dream, which was as follows: "That he thought he was chosen Ædile with his brother, and that when they were returning home from the forum, she had met them at the door, and had embraced

and kissed them." Their parent's heart was extremely affected by what she heard, and giving herself up, with all maternal affection, to the flattering delusion, cried out, "O that I might live to see that day!" "Do you consent then, my mother, (said Publius), to our making the trial?" To this she replied in the affirmative, never suspecting, from his time of life, that he would venture to make it, but merely supposing that he spoke in jest. However, without saying another word to his mother, he ordered a white gown to be got ready, such as is worn by candidates for offices. It is probable his mother never troubled herself more about the But next morning, while she was matter. asleep, Scipio put on the candidate's gown, and went to the forum. The people, who were all prepossessed in his favour, received him with shouts of applause: when advancing to the place where the candidates were standing, he took his station by the side of his brother, whose election he carried, and his own likewise. The

³ Heureux presentiment des Romains, qui ne purent trop tot ouvrir l'entrée des charges à deux Heros, dont l'un conquit l'Λfrique, et l'autre l'Asie; et qui prendront dans la suite les surnoms, l'un d'Africane, l'autre d'Asiatique.—Catrov et Rouille, Hist. Rom.

news of their success was immediately conveyed to their mother, who in a transport of joy ran out, and meeting them both at the door, embraced and kissed them. From the circumstances attending this election, Polybius says, an opinion became prevalent among all who heard the story of the dream, that Scipio, not only when asleep, but whilst awake in full possession of his understanding, held familiar converse with the gods. Yet it was from no dream he derived any assistance in this business; but being by nature generous, magnificent, and courteous in his manners, he had previously conciliated the favour of the multitude, and when the proper time arrived, had the address to use it both with the people and his mother: from this originated the idea of his acting under the impulse of divine admonition. Men, observes Polybius, who have not the discernment either from nature or education, to view distinctly the times, the causes, and the courses of actions, generally ascribe those events to the gods or to fortune, which are brought about by the expert and ready management of good sense and reason. The relation we have now given of Scipio's appointment to the office of ædile, before he was of age, is taken from Polybius; and the reflection which the historian makes on the dream, is its natural and obvious interpretation, when applied to a young man of such good sense and sound judgment.

Livy gives an account of the preceding transaction, with some circumstances which still render it more interesting. When Scipio appeared in the morning of his election, the tribunes of the people were determined to give him every opposition in their power: a conduct on the part of these magistrates, neither unusual, nor unexpected. They declared that it was quite unprecedented for any one to demand the ædileship at his time of life; that the candidate was only in his twenty-first year, when by law he should be in his thirty-seventh; to which they added, that if he was elected, they would never sanction it with their approbation. The reputation of men is greatly affected by the first steps they take in life, for on them often depends their good or ill fortune. It was hazardous for a young man to oppose the tribunitial power; and to pay it abject submission was not unaccompanied with some danger. Probably such a reflection occurred to Scipio, and was duly weighed by him, but he was determined to persevere. What passed at the time

of his election, is given by Livy with his usual elegance and simplicity. The plebeian tribunes insisted that he ought not to be admitted as a candidate till he was of the age required by law: to this objection the youth is said to have replied in the following energetic terms: "Si me, omnes Quirites ædilem facere volunt, satis annorum habeo 4." If all the Romans wish to make me an ædile, I am old enough. appeal to the feelings of the Roman people, conveys both the beauty and brevity of the Latin language, and presents to us some idea of Scipio's manly and original character. But though this address to the Roman people was full of high and haughty humour, and highly offensive to the tribunes, it flattered the pride of the electors, who with one voice nominated him and his brother ædiles, which was a mark of the highest favour and distinction in their power to bestow, as the ædileship was the first public preferment that was properly called a magistracy.

In what manner Scipio passed his time (except in the instance of this election), from the year of the battle of Cannæ in 537, until the

⁴ Livy, l. 25, c. 2.

year 542, in which he was appointed procensul in Spain, after the death of his father and uncles, is not noticed in any surviving history. In that year the command in Spain became vacant, and the consternation in the city through all ranks of the people was extremely great. Not one of the senators had the courage to solicit the situation, which was then vacant in that country; and the senate itself was at a loss whom they should appoint to so important a command?. "When the day arrived," says Sir Walter Raleigh, "on which a proconsul for Spain was to be chosen, all the senators and thief men of the city stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart to adventure himself on such a desperate service. when on a sudden Publius Cornelius Scipio.

SILIUS, l. 15, l. 7.

⁵ Dum Capua infaustam luit haud sine sanguine culpam, Interea geminos terra crudelis Ibera Fortuna abstulerat, permiscens tristia lætis, Scipiadas, magnumque decus, magnumque dolorem. SILIUS ITALICUS, 1. 13, 1. 382.

[•] Livy, l. 26, c. 18.

⁷ Anxia turba, Patres, quasso, medicamina, mœsti Imperio circumspectant, Divosque precantur. Qui laceris ausit ductor succedere castris.

then about four and twenty years of age⁸, got up on a rising ground from whence he might be seen by all, and declared himself a candidate, with a soul elevated above the danger⁹."

The eyes of the whole assembly were instantly turned on him, and general acclamations of favour and applause testified hopes and expectations of prosperity and success to the commission. Then orders were given that the people should proceed to give their votes, and not only every century without exception 10, but every individual voted that Publius Scipio should have the command in Spain; the country, says Swift, in which the greatest of the Scipios began all his glories 1.—As soon as the business was over, and the vehemence and ardour of the people's

⁸ Publins Scipio quartum ac vigesimum annum agens, iturum se pollicitus est. Quæ quidem fiducia Pop. Romano salutis ac victoriæ spem dedit. Eådemque in ipså Hispanià usus est.—Val. Max. l. 3, c. 7.

⁹ Ardua rostra petit, nullo fera bella volente, Et gravia ancipitis deposcit munera Martis. SILIUS, 1. 15, J. 131.

¹⁰ A. V. C. 542.

¹ The letter of Swift, from which the above extract is taken, was written to the Duke of Argyll in 1711, whilst he commanded in Spain.

emotion had subsided, a sudden silence ensued, and all began to reflect on what they had done, wherein partial inclination prevailed over their more mature judgment. His youth gave them much uneasiness². which was not abated when they took into consideration the misfortunes of His very name, it is said, caused his house. serious apprehensions, as he was to set out from two families, who were in mourning; and was to proceed to a province, where he must carry on his military operations between the tombs of his father and uncle³. When Scipio perceived that the people were under serious apprehensions on his account, he summoned an assembly, in which he spoke on the subject of his age, on the command to which he was appointed, and the war that he was to carry on, with such a magnanimity and elevation of sentiment, as re-

Absterret juvenem, patrios patruique piare
Optantem manes, tristi conterrita luctů,
Et reputans annos, cognato sanguine turba:
Si gentem petat infaustam, inter busta suorum
Decertandum hosti, qui fregerit arma duorum,
Qui consulta ducum, ac flagret meliore Gradivo.
Silius, l. 15, l. 10.

⁹ In ultionem patris ac patrui missus cum exercitu Scipio.—FLORUS.

kindled and renewed the ardour that was beginning to subside, and filled the minds of the people with greater confidence4 of hope, than what usually arises from faith reposed in any profession, merely human; or from reason, forming its opinion by the most flattering state of affairs. To assist him in council, and moderate the vivacity of his genius and warlike disposition, Marcus Junius Silanus, a proprætor, now advanced in years, was named by the republic for his colleague. Scipio had not only a noble carriage in him, (I now use the language of the old life of Africanus by Sir Thomas North), being endued with so many singular virtues, but he was also a goodly gentleman, and very comely of person, and had besides a pleasant countenance; all which things together, are great means to win him the love and good will of every man. Moreover, even in his gestures and behaviour, there was a princely grace. Now the glory of martial discipline being joined unto those his rare gifts of mind and nature, it was to be doubted whether civil virtues made him more acceptable unto strangers, than wonderful for his skill in wars. Furthermore, he had filled the common people's hearts

⁴ Quæ quidem fiducia, says Valerius Maximus, populo Romano salutis ac victoriæ spem dedit.

with a certain superstitious fear, because he did daily (after he had taken the man's gown) use to go up to the Capitol³, and so into the church without any company, insomuch that all men began to think that he learned some secrets therein."—This latter custom, says Livy, which he observed through the whole course of his life, made several people give credit to a notion spread abroad at the time, that he was of divine extraction; which gave rise to the propagation of many miraculous stories that were never discouraged by him, but rather were, says the historian⁶, artfully countenanced, he himself neither contradicting nor absolutely affirming any thing of the kind⁷. The story of his having been

⁵ In Capitolium intempestà noctè cunti nunquam cames allatraverunt. Nec hic quidquam prius cæpit, quam in *Cellá** Jovis diutissimè sedisset, quasi divinam mentem acciperet.

⁶ Livy, l. 26, c. 19.

⁷ Hanc de se opinionem tali ingenio nutrivit, ut de origine quidem sua nihil sponte loqueretur; et cum interrogaretur, an vera essent quæ passim ferebantur, nec affirmaret, ne quam exinde maculam vanitatis incurreret, nec negaret, quod credi ab omnibus gaudebat: hæc taciturnitaté plus assecutus est, quam si palam jovis filium prædicasset.—Petrarch.

^{*} Cella was the interior and more sacred part of the Temple, where the image of the Deity was deposited.

begotten by a huge serpent⁸, is mentioned by many of the ancient writers, and is particularly alluded to by Milton⁹, who in his enumeration of the serpent kind that were fabled to have had commerce with mortal women, says,

He with Olympias, this with her that bore Scipio, the heighth of Rome.

Scipio Nasica, in a speech in which he praises the Cornelian family, says, that Scipio Africanus so far exceeded the reputation of his father, as to create a belief that he was not born of the human race, but was of divine extraction 10. Scipio was not displeased, says Bayle, that people should believe this story of his mother; and he is inclined to think that the intelligent Romans were not averse to the circulation of such an opinion. When we take into consideration the sad condition to which Hannibal reduced Rome, it was to be wished that popular errors

⁸ Jovis filius creditur, nam antequam conciperetur, serpens in lecto matris ejus apparuit, et ipsi parvulo draco circumfusus, nihil nocuit.—Aur. Victor.

Milton, Paradise Lost, l. 9, l. 509.

¹⁰ Cui viro divinum quiddam inesse existimabatur; adeo ut putaretur etiam cum numinibus habere sermonem.—Eutropius.

might raise the people's expectations, and make Scipio be looked upon as a man designed by the gods for some great actions. It is evident from numberless passages in Livy, that at this period the Romans paid almost as much attention to the prodigies which were annually collected, and to the ways and means that were devised to avert their portentous consequences, as they did to the most important affairs of the republic. At times they seemed to impute their distresses more to the neglect of superstitious rites, than to the misconduct of their generals. or to the superiority of their enemies. Fabius, who by perseverance and steadiness had the merit of restoring their affairs, was no less celebrated for his diligence in averting the effect of these prodigies, than he was for the conduct and ability of a cautious and successful commander.

From what has been said, it may I think be fairly inferred, that Scipio was impressed with a sense of religious duties, and a belief that there was a superior power that superintended the affairs of this world. For it appears from

^{· 1} Nemo vir magnus, says Cicero, sine aliquo afflatû divinô unquam fuit.—De Natu Deorum.

every account transmitted of him, that he never entered upon any important business, either of a public or a private 2 nature, without retiring to some place of worship, and imploring the assistance of the divinity to which it was consecrated. But notwithstanding this, it is at the same time to be acknowledged, that he seems to have mixed a certain degree of policy with his public acts of devotion; and to have, in imitation of Lycurgus³, Numa, and Sertorius, endeavoured to raise an opinion that he received unusual communications of divine favour: for by cherishing an opinion in the multitude, that he was supported in all his undertakings by supernatural aid, he inspired those that were under his command with greater confidence, and made them more eager, even in the most perilous attempts. In the assault which was made on New Carthage in Spain, Scipio said that Neptune appeared to him by night, and

² Scipio Africanus non ante ad negotia publica vel privata ibat, quam in Cellà Jovis Capitolini moratus esset; et ideo Jove genitus credebatur.—Val. Maximus, l. 1, c. 2.

³ Polybius is of opinion, that there is a great resemblance, both in character and conduct, between Scipio and Lycurgus, l. 10, ex. 2.

bid him go on and fear nothing; and it is added. that as soon as the city was taken, he publicly offered up his thanks to the gods for his success. All these circumstances concurred in procuring Scipio a degree of admiration which surpassed what was due to any human being, and laid the foundation of some of the causes that, at this time, induced the public to commit to him, at so premature an age, the important command in question 4. As soon as his appointment had taken place, he set sail for Spain as proconsul, and in the space of four years, reduced the whole country under the dominion of the Romans 5. In that short period he overcame four captains, routed and dispersed four well-appointed armies, and drove the Carthaginians out of both Spains, so that it may be said with truth, he did not leave a single enemy in the province which was committed to his care.

As Livy and Polybius have given a particular account of Scipio's military transactions in Spain, I think it unnecessary to repeat them here—they were great—they were brilliant, and successful; which latter circumstance is what,

⁴ A. V. C. 542.

⁵ Lucius Florus, l. 2, c. 6.

in the opinion of the world, crowns and justifies all wars, however undertaken or carried on.

In consequence of his success 6, the senate gave judgment that it merited a splendid triumph; but as it was never known that any person had obtained such an honour, when not invested with a public office, Scipio resigned his suit like a man, who would not be the cause of establishing a new custom, or of violating one that was old. In refusing the suit of the conqueror, the senate maintained the cause of wisdom and discipline, and the people were taught to understand that their authority was subordinate to the laws. As the senate sat in the temple of Bellona without the city7, Scipio briefly recited, as was customary on such occasions, the battles he had won, the towns he had taken, and the generals he had beaten: in doing which, he rather made trial how far he might hope for a triumph, than advanced his

⁶ Livy, l. 28, c. 38.

On sait assez que le general victorieux à son retour à Rome, faisoit assembler le senat dans un templé hors de l'enceinte des murs, et qu'il lui exposoit ses pretensions au triomphe, en lui fournissant en même tems des memoires exacts de sa victoire, dont il etoit obligé de constater la verité par son serment solennel.—Gibbon.

suit with any probability of success, by reason of the existing law. As soon as the senate was dismissed, Scipio made his entrance into the city, and in the twenty-ninth year of his age8, was elected consul with the universal consent and approbation of the whole Roman people. Livy says his election was attended by an immense concourse of persons, who flocked from all parts of the country, not only for the purpose of giving him their votes, but of obtaining a sight of the candidate. They ran in crowds to his house, and even to the Capitol, at the time when he was making a sacrifice of a hecatomb to Jupiter, for a vow he had made in Spain after the suppression of a mutiny. He exhibited also games, of which the expence was defrayed by a decree of the senate, out of the money that he had transmitted to the treasury.

Though I have declined entering into any particular detail of our hero's military transactions in Spain, from being very little versed in the science of war; yet I shall have peculiar pleasure in marking such features of his civil

⁵ It was required by law, that every candidate for the consulship should be forty-three years of age, called *legitimum tempus*.

behaviour in that country, as serve to display the gallantry and humanity that always actuated him, of which the most remarkable instance is what is well known to every reader. The story is as follows: During the prosecution of the war in Spain¹⁰, we are told that, after the capture of New Carthage, a multitude of prisoners of both sexes fell into the power of Scipio, amongst whom was a damsel of great beauty, who, whereever she went, attracted the eyes of all:

She wept, and blush'd,
And like the morn, was young and blooming.

Scipio was at that time of life in which the passions have the greatest influence—he was seven and twenty, his person graceful and noble—consequently his soldiers supposed that his heart could not be insensible to the charms of so lovely an object. He assured them they were not mistaken in their opinions; the treasure was of inestimable price, and if his thoughts were not entirely engaged by public business, he might probably indulge in such pleasures as were not

⁹ This story is told by Sir Richard Steele, in one of his Tatlers, with peculiar grace and elegance.

¹⁰ Livy, l. 26, c. 50.

incompatible with his youth, or with that respect which he must ever pay to honour and virtue'. On making enquiries concerning the fair Spaniard's country and parents, he learnt that she was promised in marriage to a Spanish prince of the name of Allucius. Immediately he sent for him who was to be her husband, and he came. attended by her mother and nearest relations. The moment Scipio saw him, and perceived in his countenance expressions not only indicative of indignation but sorrow, he addressed him as follows: "I am sensible of the regard this young captive has for you, and am not ignorant of your passion for her. Know, Sir, that she has been perfectly safe with me, and I now restore her as deserving of your love, as she was before she came under my protection. This lady, I can assure you, is a gift worthy of me to bestow, and of you to receive. I am happy at having it in

¹ Polybius tells us that Scipio was naturally of an amorous temperament—συνειδοντες, ΦΙΛΟΓΥΝΗΝ τον Πον-πλιον, l. 10.

To which Valerius Maximus adds, that he was besides et juvenis, et cælebs et victor.

Mais Scipion savoit également vaincre les ennemis des Romains, et ses propres passions.

my power to contribute to an union on which the happiness of two such persons depends;

" ----And in return.

If what I now do, raises in your mind any favourable opinion of me, if you believe me to be a man of worth and virtue, such as these nations ever found my father and uncle, believe that Rome has many citizens who would act in the same manner under similar circumstances."

Allucius, overcome at once with joy and modest diffidence, and taking his noble friend by the right hand, invoked all the gods to reward such exalted goodness; for no return he could make, was adequate either to gratify his own wishes, or repay his benefactor's generosity.

[&]quot; I ask but this, when you behold these eyes,

[&]quot; These charms with transport, be a friend of Rome.

^a "I will not so dishonour the virtue of Scipie," says Lord Lyttelton in one of his Dialogues, "as to think he could feel any struggle with himself on that account. A woman engaged to another, engaged by affection as well as vows, let her have been ever so beautiful, could have raised in his heart no sentiments but compassion and friendship. To have violated her, would have been an act of brutality, which none but another Tarquin could have committed. To have detained her from her husband, would have been cruel."

Instantly an immense treasure was produced by the friends of the fair captive, and offered as her ransom, which Scipio at first refused to take: but as Allucius pressed the acceptance of it, he gave his assent, and ordered it all to be laid at his feet; when turning to the young prince, he said, "I beg leave to present the whole to her who is to be your wife, as a part of her marriage dowry. You know, Sir, it is all nothing, in comparison with what I have already given her." Allucius, after some opposition, acquiesced in Scipio's bounty, and went home to his own nation, accompanied by his young bride and her relations, who resounded the praises of their benefactor, and of the Roman people, through all the regions round about, declaring, that he who had come amongst them was a god, rather than a man, one who conquers more by his goodness and generosity, than by the power of his arms3.

³ The above story is told by old Burton, in his Anatomy of Melancholy, in the following natural and homely language: "Scipio, a young man of twenty-three years of age, and the most beautiful of the Romans, equal in person to that Grecian Charinus, or Homer's Nereus, at the siege of a city of Spain, when as a noble and most fair young gentlewoman was brought unto him, and he had heard she was betrothed to a lord, rewarded her, and sent her back to her sweetheart."

Soon after Allucius joined his camp at the head of fourteen hundred men, and never forsook him during the further continuance of the war. Examples of military prowess can only be made the objects of imitation by a few; but such amiable displays of true generosity and courtesy as the foregoing relation presents, are fitted for the instruction and imitation of all. As a small testimony of the grateful sense Allucius entertained for such magnanimous treatment, it is said he presented his benefactor with a silver shield, on which he himself is represented as receiving from the hands of the Roman general, the beautiful captive to whom he was betrothed.

Swift, in speaking of such men as made great figures in some particular action or circumstance of their lives, mentions our hero, when he dismissed a fair captive lady presented to him after a great victory, turning his head aside, to preserve his own virtue.

Among the various prisoners that were pre-

Fortior est qui se, quam qui fortissima, vincit, mænia.

[°] See Appendix, Nos. I. and II.

⁴ History, says Dryden, is fruitful of designs, both for the painter and the tragic poet. Such is Scipio restoring the Spanish bride, whom he either loved, or may be supposed to love; by which he gained the hearts of a great nation to interest themselves for Rome against Carthage.

sented to Scipio after the taking of New Carthage⁵, a woman far advanced in years, with something venerable in her appearance, the wife of Mandonius, the brother of Indibilis, king of the Ilergetes, came forward, and threw herself at his feet, beseeching him with tears, to give such orders concerning the females who were his captives, that they might be enabled to receive more consideration and attention than what they had experienced from the Carthaginians. As soon as Scipio heard this, he begged leave to assure her, that no necessary accommodation should be wanting to her. To this she replied, that such kind of attention was not that about which they were troubled; "for what accommodation (continued she) can be looked upon as not enough for persons in our helpless situation? Concern, Sir. of a very different nature rends my heart, when I reflect on the tender ages of these young females; for as to myself, I am now beyond the danger of those insults to which our sex is exposed." On each side of this venerable matron stood the daughters of Indibilis, in the bloom of youth and beauty, together with several other young ladies of equal distinction, by all of whom she was respected as a parent. "From the reve-

⁵ Polybius, l. 10. exc. 2; Livy, l. 26, c. 49.

tence I owe myself, (returned Scipio), and from the respect which is ever due to Roman discipline. I will take care that no right, wherever deemed sacred, shall suffer violation among us. In the instance before me, the characters of women of such respectability as you are, who in the midst of misfortunes, are not forgetful of that delicacy which is the brightest ornament of the sex, demand from me peculiar attention." Then taking her by the hand, he bid her and all her female attendants be of good cheer, assuring her at the same time, that he would be no less attentive to the preservation of their characters, than if they were his sisters or daughters. then committed them to the care of persons of approved honour and fidelity, who were to be answerable for their treatment of them. In fine. during all the time Scipio had the command in Spain, he conquered the country as much by his generous manner of treating the vanquished nations, by his restoring his prisoners without ransom to their relations, by liberality towards his enemies, by wisdom and discretion in punishing mutiny and desertion, as he did by his valour and arms6.

⁶ Quâ rê, (says Eutropius), omnes ferè Hispaniæ ad eum unô animô transierunt.

The impression which was made on the minds of the Spanish people by these multiplied instances of an enlarged and beneficent spirit, was of such a conciliating nature, that we learn from Polybius, he was saluted by the name of king. As soon as he discovered that it was the universal wish of the people to make him a king⁷, he thought it a matter of most serious moment. In consequence of which, he called a meeting of the principal persons who wished to confer on him the title, in which he told them that he should always desire not only to be, but to be esteemed a man of a truly royal mind; at the same time assuring them he would neither be a king, nor would he receive the title from any one; and for the future requested, that they should address him by no other appellation than that of imperator, or general. The greatness of

⁷ Livy, l. 27, c. 19.

[—]Mens omnibus una,
Concordes regem appellant, regemque salutant.
Scilicet hunc summum nôrunt virtutis honorem.
Sed postquam miti rejecit munera vultu,
Ausonio non digna viro, patriosque vicissim
Edocuit ritus, et Romam nomina regum
Monstravit nescire pati, tum versus in unam, &c.
Silius, l. 16, 312.

soul, says Polybius, which was displayed on this occasion, may very justly be thought to deserve applause.

Though Scipio was at this time extremely young, and fortune had so favoured him in his career of glory, that a whole subject people made a voluntary offer to him of the royal title. vet he remained true and constant to his country, not suffering himself to be tempted by so flattering a display of honour and distinction. To refuse the title of king, when you have it in your power to possess it, is, says Seneca, what constitutes the essence of reigning9. But in the subsequent progress of his brilliant victories, after he had subdued Hannibal, and brought down the pride of the Carthaginians, and had besides conquered Asia and her kings, how many were the occasions that occurred, of his establishing himself in royalty in almost any part of the world he might have chosen? Such golden opportunities were presented, as might have inspired not only a human mind, says Polybius. but even a divinity itself, if the expression is allowable, with ambitious pride. But so ele-

⁸ L. 10, exc. 6.

⁹ Hoc est regnare; nolle regnare, quum possis.

vated, so superior was the soul of Scipio to that of other men, that, though supreme power is regarded as the greatest blessing which the gods can bestow, and though it was thrown so often in his way by fortune, he rejected it with disdain, and preferred his duty, and the interests of his country, to all the dazzling splendour and fancied happiness of a throne. The barbarians themselves, says Livy, acknowledged the greatness of his mind, which could look down with contempt on a title as beneath him, which from the rest of mankind attracts admiration and wonder.

An incident occurred before Scipio returned to Rome, which should not be omitted, as it serves to give a further trait of our hero's character: Syphax was king of the Massæaylians, a people who possessed the half of Numidia, whose country lay opposite to New Carthage, where Scipio then had his head-quarters. This prince was the ally of the Carthaginians, but his fidelity, like that of other barharians, was generally guided by fortune, and the prosperity of those with whom he was in alliance. In consequence of the unsuccessful state of Carthaginian affairs then in Spain and Italy¹⁰, Scipio enter-

¹⁰ Anno V. C. 543.

tained hopes that he might be able to engage him in his interest. Under this idea he dispatched his friend Lælius to sound the Numidian, at the same time sending with him such presents as he conceived might be acceptable to his majesty. Syphax, not at all displeased with the arrival of Lælius, nor with the gifts he brought along with him, and considering the prosperous condition of the Romans, consented to embrace their friendship, but refused to exchange the ratification of any treaty, save with the principal in person. When Lælius was going away, he desired him to tell his general, that if he came himself, he trusted he should have no cause to repent of the journey. The great importance of an alliance which promised to secure the interest of so powerful a king, overcame in Scipio's mind not only the imprudence, but the illegality of an action so hazardous both to himself and the republic; inasmuch as there was a positive law existing, which forbad, under penalty of death, a general's quitting his army by moving out of his province: the violation of this law, became a plentiful source of invective to Fabius and his abettors.

It is true, Scipio committed himself in an enemy's country, to the power of a barbarian

king, to a faith unknown, without any obligation, without hostage, upon the single security of his own magnanimity, of his good fortune, and the promise of his elevated hopes; so just is the observation of Livy, that the confidence we repose in another, often procures the return of the like confidence. Habita fides, ipsam plerumque fidem obligat.

Yet when we consider that the object of what Scipio did, sprung from the purest patriotic motives, and that the conquest of Africa followed, his gainsayers were put to shame, but not to silence. What I am going now to relate, is that which tends further to illustrate the character of Scipio. The two generals of the two greatest nations in the world accidentally met together at the court of the Numidian king: both were received by Syphax with great respect.

Of the same repast,
Both gracefully partook, and both reclin'd
On the same couch; for personal distate
And hatred seldom burn between the brave².

Celsus mentê Syphax acciri in tecta benignè Imperat, et tanto regni se tollit honore.
SILIUS, l. 16, l. 221.

² Sophonisba.—Thomson.

The two generals sat on the same couch at table, a circumstance which they perceived, as Livy acquaints us, would be particularly pleasing to the king³. During this interview Scipio's address was so prepossessing, the versatility of his genius so rapid, and his conversation so charming, that he delighted not only Syphax, who was a stranger to Roman manners, but even Asdrubal, who was his enemy.

Then the superior virtues of the Roman Gain'd all their hearts.

In the course of the conversation which the two generals had together, Asdrubal is reported to have thus addressed Scipio: "That he appeared to him more worthy of admiration by his agreeable conversation, than by his exploits in

Silius Italicus, with the allowable license of a poet, says that Syphax had great pleasure in retracing in Scipio's face the likeness of his father, whom he remembered in Spain.

Quàm te, Dardanida pulcherrime, mentê serena Accipio, intueorque libens! quàmque ora recordor Lætus Scipiadæ. Revocat tua forma parentem. L. 16, l. 225.

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³ Quia ita cordi erat regi.—Livy, l. 23, c. 18.

war4;--that he did not doubt but Syphax and his kingdom would soon be at the disposal of the Romans, so captivating were Scipio's manners in winning the hearts of men; --- that the Carthaginians need not trouble themselves so much, by enquiring how Spain was lost, as how Africa might be preserved;—that Scipio's excursions by sea were not those of pleasure; that he would never have encountered the perils of such a voyage in two small ships, nor put himself in the power of a king, whose honour he had not tried, but with a prospect of subduing Africa; -that the latter was an object which Scipio had long revolved in his mind, having often publicly expressed his regret that he was not carrying on the war in Africa, as Hannibal was in Italy."

Before his departure, Scipio ratified a league with Syphax, who was so interested for his personal safety, that he detained Asdrubal till he heard he was landed at New Carthage.

^{——}Even Asdrubal himself,
With admiration struck and just despair,
Own'd him as dreadful at the social feast,
As in the battle.

Sophonisba—Thomson.

Valerius Maximus, in noticing the foregoing incident, blames the temerity of Scipio, not only for the unguarded manner in which he visited Syphax, but for trusting his own safety, and that of his country, to the honour of a faithless Numidian, by which rash step, it became for a moment a matter of doubt whether he should be the captive or conqueror of the Massæsylian. If we were to judge of the wisdom of Scipio's visit to Syphax by the event, the answer would be attended with little difficulty. But what was the observation of the wise Fabius on such occasions? It is comprised in a few words: Eventus stultorum magister est—Events only are the instructors of fools.

Scipio, previous to his leaving Spain, entered into a close alliance with Massinissa, a young Numidian prince⁷, who was strongly prepossessed in favour of the connection, by the

⁵ Itaque exiguo momento maximæ rei casus fluctuavit, utrum captivus, an victor Scipio Syphacis fieret.—Val. Maximus, 1. 9, c. 8.

Quisquis ab eventù facta notanda putat.

Over.

⁷ Livy, l. 28, c. 35.

amiable treatment shewn to his nephew Massiva, the particulars of which, as they lead more and more to the elucidation of our hero's character, I shall give from the best of Roman historians.

After the battle of Bœcula, when the quæstor was selling off some Africans that had been taken prisoners, he observed a youth of extraordinary beauty, and hearing that he was of royal blood, sent him to the commander-inchief. When the youth appeared before Scipio, he asked him, "Who, and of what country he was, and why at such an early age he had been in the camp?"—The youth told him "he was a Numidian, and called by his countrymen Massiva;—that by the death of his father he was left an orphan, and had been educated in the family of his maternal grandfather, Gala, king of the Numidians;—that he had lately arrived in Spain with his uncle Massinissa, who had brought over a body of cavalry to the assistance of the Carthaginians;—that he had never before been in a battle, having been prohibited by Massinissa on account of his youth; but that on the day of the engagement with the Romans, he had privately taken a horse and arms, and without the knowledge of his uncle, had gone into the

field, where, by the falling of his horse, he was thrown to the ground, and made a prisoner by the Romans."

Scipio, after giving orders that the young Numidian should be taken care of, finished the business he was about at the tribunal; then retiring into his pavilion, called the youth, and asked him, whether he wished to return to Massinissa? To this the boy, bursting into tears, replied, that that was what above all things he desired. On hearing this, Scipio gave him a gold ring, a vest with a broad purple border, a Spanish cloak with a golden clasp, and a horse magnificently caparisoned; after which he ordered an escort of horse to attend him as far on his way home as he pleased³.

Though the alliance which Massinissa entered into with Scipio, was founded ostensibly on gratitude for his kindness towards his nephew, yet there were other motives of a much stronger nature which led to its formation; motives arising from the consideration that Carthage was verg-

Eos igitur victoriæ maximos fructus rati Romani, Diis templorum ornamenta, regibus sanguinem Suum restituere.

V. MAXIMUS, l. 5, c. 1.

ing towards its decline, and that Massinissa might add considerably to his power by the assistance of Rome. Whatever were the causes of the connection, the Numidian prince acted with great fidelity to the republic, as he had ever done to his benefactor, in whose house he passed most of his time, whenever he visited Rome; to which may be added, that the uniform kindness he experienced from Scipio, made such a deep impression on his heart, as was never forgotten by him during a long protracted life of near one hundred years.

On Scipio's return from Spain he was elected consul, as has been observed, without one dissenting voice, amidst the greatest concourse of people ever met together at Rome. In such an assembly of men, both Romans and strangers, various were the subjects of conversation, and various were their opinions; but there was one subject, which above all others, attracted their

by the ancients, both Romans and Greeks, in the number of the most sacred connections. It arose from the general custom of receiving strangers when upon their travels; a custom so universally established, that they were scarcely ever reduced to the necessity of taking up their lodgings at an inn.

attention, and on which all hearts beat in unison—the name of Scipio was in every mouth, and his glorious exploits the theme of every tongue—

"All thanked the gods, "That Rome had such a soldier;"

and were unanimous in declaring that he should be sent to Africa, that the war should be carried on in the enemy's country, and that there was no man so capable of terminating it with success as the conqueror of Spain. Scipio's wishes exactly corresponded with those of the people: he boldly accepted the choice made for him to the new province; and in the senate gave it as his decided opinion, that the carrying the war into Africa, was the only way by which it could be conducted with effect.

It was some time about this period, and previous to his entering on the African war, that he is supposed to have married Æmilia, the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, who fell so deeply lamented in the battle of Cannæ. He thought

¹⁰ Les citoyens de Rome attribuoient à la divination de Cornelius Scipion, cet empressement qu'il avoit eu d'aller porter la guerre en Afrique.—Histoire de Catrou, &c.

it of high consequence to strengthen the interest of his own family by an alliance with that of the illustrious house of the Æmilii. Of Æmilia's character, who is little noticed in history, we can only judge by that of her daughter, the celebrated Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who joined to maternal tenderness, the genius, the sentiments, and firmness of the greatest men. From the character of the daughter, some idea may be formed of the mother, who had the care and superintendance of her education'.

To return to Scipio: Of those who opposed his wishes on the subject of the African war, Fabius Maximus was the man whose character had the greatest weight; "but he was a man," says Sir Walter Raleigh, "who seems to have

r Valerius Maximus notices the character of Æmilia in the following anecdote, in his chapter De Fidê Uxorum erga Maritos: Tertia Æmilia, Africani pioris uxor, mater Corneliæ Gracchorum, tantæ fuit comitatis et patientiæ, ut cum sciret viro suo ancillulam ex suis gratam esse, dissimulaverit: ne domitorem orbis Africani fœmina impudicitiæ reum ageret. Tantumque à vindictà mens ejus abfuit, ut post mortem Africani manumissam ancillam in matrimonium liberto suo daret.—V. Max. 1. 6, c. 7.

been troubled with that disease, which too often causeth men renowned for long approved virtue, to look with an envious eye upon the actions of those who follow them in the same career of glory."

Fabius alledged many reasons against the war being carried into Africa; of which the principal were2, "that the treasury was unable to sustain the expences of it; that it was extremely perilous to hazard an army where they could not be easily recalled for the defence of Rome, in case of any emergency." He particularly dwelt on the danger in which Italy should be placed, not only from Hannibal, but from Mago, who was at that moment cruising on the coast of Liguria, with an army ready to join that of his brother. He then declared, that the consul's character would acquire much greater glory by delivering Italy from the enemy, than it would from any injury that could be done them in Africa. Scipio's victories in Spain, he considered as of little moment, compared to those which were to be gained in Africa. In the allusion he made to Scipio's successes in Spain, he blamed him for suffering Asdrubal to pass

² Livy, l. 28, c. 40.

into Italy, from which it was greatly to be anprehended that like accidents might again occur. But the principal point he urged was, that Africa was not yet a province of the republic, and therefore that the people had no right to name a governor to it. In the course of his speech, he took great pains to guard against the idea of his being influenced by any emulation or jealousy of another's glory in opposing Scipio's wishes; "for can it be supposed, (exclaims he), that I can have any rivalship with one, who is not equal in age even to my son? I, who put a stop to the victorious career of Hannibal, that the young men who came after me, might be enabled to conquer him; I, who have grown old in the accumulation of honours;—yes, surely, I may be allowed to say, that two dictatorships and four consulships, with all the glory I have acquired in peace and war, are enough to shelter me from the suspicion of such unworthy feelings."

Fabius concluded a long and able speech with saying, that in his judgment, Scipio was elected consul, not for himself, but for the common-

³ Vincere ego prohibui Hannibalem, ut a vobis, quorum vigent nunc vires, etiam vinci posset.—Livx.

wealth, and that troops were raised for the defence of Rome and Italy; and not that consuls, arrogating to themselves an authority like kings, should convey them to any part of the world they chose, and make them subservient to their own selfish and ambitious views. The reputation which Fabius had so well earned, and the high authority with which he gave his opinion, corroborated all he said; consequently it carried great weight with the elder part of the senate, and prevailed for some time against the enterprising spirit of the young consul.

The moment Scipio was sensible of the effect which Fabius's speech made on the house, he arose, and spoke to the following effect. He began by observing, that Fabius, at the very moment in which he was vindicating his character from all jealousy and envy, had not neglected extolling his own merits, nor depreciating those of a young man, with whom, he asserted, it was not in the nature of things that he should ever be his competitor in the race of glory. After dwelling on this topic for some time, he next proceeded to justify his design of carrying the war into Africa, and declared it would be better to make an offensive, than a defensive war, especially against a people who

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had no natural strength, and who were under the necessity of depending on mercenaries, whose character was inconstancy itself. On the subject of Italy he entertained no fears, trusting that his colleague Publius Licinius would be as capable of taking care of it, as others had been in times of much greater danger. "It is true, that Fabius has magnified the dangers attending a campaign in Africa, just as if the Carthaginians were more formidable in one place than in another. But the time is now come for making Africa the theatre of the war, and for causing her to feel those calamities at her own door, which we have been experiencing for the last fourteen years:

"Fabius, in the allusion he has made to his own advanced period of life, tells me, I am not so old as his son; just as if the laudable ambition of glory was limited to this mortal life, and did not carry its views to the latest posterity. Magnanimous souls compare themselves not

Virgil, l. 10, l. 468.

[&]quot; It is time the thunder of the battle be return'd

[&]quot; Back on the Punic shores."

Sed famam extendere factis,
Hoc virtutis opus.

only with the illustrious heroes of the present time, but with those of the past."

Scipio then concluded a most eloquent harangue, in the following manner: "I confess, conscript fathers, I should be apprehensive of tiring out your patience with matter little connected with the present subject, if I was, in imitation of Fabius, who has considered of such little consequence what I did in Spain, to attempt to raise my reputation on the ruins of his. I shall not be guilty of any such thing: in moderation and forbearance of speech, if in nothing else, young as I am, I shall surpass this old Such has been the constant tenor of general. my life and actions, both in public and private, that I can hold my tongue on the present occasion, and remain satisfied with whatever opinion you may form of me."

This speech, notwithstanding what Silius Italicus says⁵, was not listened to with all the deference that was due to the shining character of Scipio, because a report had gone abroad, that if he did not obtain the permission of the senate to carry the war into Africa, he would demand



⁵ Talibus accensi patres, fatoque vocante,
Consulis annuerunt dictis, faustumque precati
Ut foret Ausoniæ, tramittere bella dederunt.
Silius, l. 16—end.

it of the people. Quintus Fulvius, who had been four times consul, and also censor, called upon Scipio to declare in the presence of the senators. whether he would leave the distribution of the provinces to them, and acquiesce in their decree: or whether, in case he did not approve of it, he would appeal from the same to the people? To. this Scipio answered, that he would act in whatever manner he should judge most advantageous. to the republic. On hearing this, Fulvius observed, that all deliberation was useless, and therefore desired the tribunes of the people to. The consul replied, that it was not interpose. fair in the tribunes to interrupt the senators in giving their votes. Then the tribunes said, that if the consul would leave the disposal of the provinces to the senate, they would support their decision, and suffer no appeal from it to the people; but if, on the other hand, he would not submit to the senate, they would support whon ever should refuse to vote. The consul desired he might be permitted to have a conference with his colleague, which ended in his acquiescence in the judgment of the senate, who immediately proceeding to the distribution of the provinces. appointed him unanimously to the government of Sicily, with liberty to pass into Africa, if he judged it for the interest of the republic.

When this decree of the senate was made public, the minds of all people were elated with such sanguine expectations of glorious performances, that they already ranked Africa amongst their possessions, and considered the war at an end. But Fabius, though he was unable to prevent Scipio's carrying the war into Africa, used all means in his power to obstruct his military preparations, and prevailed on the senate to refuse the funds necessary for equipping his armament. He even tried, through his colleague Licinius, to traverse all his measures, and to dissuade the Roman youth from going out with him as volunteers. Yet, in spite of all the opposition that was given, Scipio obtained the senate's permission to receive whatever succours the allies were disposed to grant. In consequence of this mark of their approbation, orders were sent to Etruria, and to the other states in alliance with Rome, to prepare a fleet; and so zealous were all in his favour, that in the space of five and forty days it was put to sea, fully equipped by private contributions⁶. The whole

⁶ Secundo quoque Punico bello, Scipionis classes XL. die à securi navigavit. Tantum tempestivitas etiam in rapida celeritate pollet.—PLIN. 1. 16, c. 39.

undertaking seemed at first so rash and presumptuous, that the republic would not supply him either with troops or money; added to which, there was a public standing order, that no levies were to be made in Italy whilst Hannibal was in arms.

The moment the fleet was ready to sail, Scipio proceeded to Sicily, and landed at Syracuse. The entire march of Scipio's military career in this expedition, was attended with equally brilliant success as that which distinguished its progress in Spain; but as its object was more momentous, its issue proved more glorious. He conquered Hannibal, and subdued the Carthaginians; which few words comprise the highest eulogy that can be pronounced on a soldier.

Having declined all particular account of Scipio's military transactions in Spain, I shall observe a similar silence on the present occasion, and confine myself only to such prominent features of his character, as serve to keep up with undiminished interest, that place in our hearts which he acquired at the age of seventeen, and which abated not when the grave closed over him at Liternum. As soon as he landed at Syracuse, he learnt that a party of Roman soldiers had, in defiance of a decree of the senate, re-

fused to restore to the inhabitants some lands which had been taken from them by violence. The immediate restoration of this property was ordered, under penalty of the most exemplary punishment, and was complied with without a moment's delay. This example of summary justice gave him the hearts and hands of all the Sicilians, and secured him their zealous cooperation in the prosecution of his further designs. As long as Roman generals and governors of provinces adhered to this mode of conduct, the government from which their power emanated, was every where respected.

Whilst Scipio remained at Syracuse, he was greatly embarrassed by the violent proceedings of Quintus Pleminius, whom he had lately made governor of Locri. The circumstances attending this appointment, proved a source of some temporary gratification to his enemies, who in consequence of his gross misconduct, preferred an accusation against Scipio, as having not only overlooked, but connived at it. To strengthen

⁷ Pleminius is represented in the light of a man who had nothing of a Roman citizen—prater habitum, vestitumque et sonum Latina lingua. He is called, Pestis ac bellua immanis.—LIVY, 29, c. 17.

their charge, his enemies added, that the army he commanded was in a state of great insubordination, which they ascribed to an unbounded indulgence allowed both officers and men, whilst he himself was addicted to a life of effeminacy and pleasure.

This accusation was supported by a popular party at Rome, at the head of which, we are concerned to find the names of Fabius Maximus and Marcus Cato, whose jealousy was easily awakened at the important services Scipio had rendered his country, and which in their eyes had given him too great an ascendancy in the state. The proverbial caution of Fabius ever dreaded the impetuous ardor of youth: and it is not without reason supposed, that Scipio's uninterrupted career of good fortune gave him some secret uneasiness. He condemned Scipio for placing such a man as Pleminius in the government of Locri, and for not immediately attending to the complaints of the inhabitants against him: nay, his prejudice against him rose to such a heighth, that he called him a man born to be the corrupter of military discipline in the army. By such an unqualified strain of invective Fabius encouraged others to utter what their malice suggested, not only in opposition to

Scipie's own mild demeanour, but to the good discipline of his army, which, they affirmed, lay idde in Sicily, neither mindful of, nor fit for duty. The rigid austerity of Cato's life, and his severe simplicity of manners, were quite incompatible with the unbounded liberality of Scipio's public sentiments and magnificent style of living. "It is not at the head of armies (exclaimed Scipio, on an occasion of one of his Quæstor Cato's prudent remonstrances), it is not, I say, at the head of armies, that the economy you recommend is to be practised. It is of the exploits I shall perform, and not of the expences incurred by them, that I must give the Roman people an account."

Sir Walter Raleigh censures the vehemency of Cato's nature, for maligning the virtue of that noble Scipio the African⁸, and some other worthy men, that were no less honest than himself, though far less rigid and more gallant in behaviour. The jealous malignity of Cato's nature was unworthy his high reputation, and his coalition with Fabius tended to give it greater effect: for they were both men constitutionally timid in their policy, and temporizing in action,

⁸ Livy's words are: "Scipionem a Catone adlatrar; solitum esse.—In English, to be barked at.

and consequently jealous of a youth who was brave, daring and successful.

No man, says Bayle, was more proper than Cato to perform the functions of a censor, nor did any man ever acquit himself better of the duties of that office. He exerted all his severity, all the strength of his eloquence, and the whole weight of his regular life, to repress the luxury and the other vices of the Romans, for which reason it was said that he was no less useful to the Roman commonwealth by the war he waged against the depravation of manners, than Scipio by his victories over the enemy. The eulogium pronounced on him by the best of the Latin historians, is so beautiful in the original, that Bayle had not the courage to attempt a translation of it. That the jealousy of such men as Fabius and Cato, and some others, was wholly without foundation, cannot be reasonably supposed. The important services Scipio had rendered his country, in conjunction with those eminent virtues which he had on every occasion displayed, seem to have given him such a superiority in the state, as to have raised in these distinguished patriots a strong jealousy of his

⁹ Livy l. 39, c. 40.

credit and power. Hence originated a party, whose object was to mortify his ambition, and restrain his too extensive influence, and whose suspicious malice only ceased with their lives.

To the complaints of the Locrians, which had arisen from the outrageous behaviour of their Governor, Scipio made no reply. He left the vindication of his conduct to the Locrians themselves10, who all with one accord acquitted him of the charge preferred against him, and declared that the severities they suffered under Pleminius, were, in their opinion, unknown to Scipio: adding, that they were convinced it was neither by his order, nor consent, that such enormous oppressions had been committed, and that, consequently, they were not to be charged to his account. The commissioners, who were sent by the senate to investigate the business. when once assured of his innocence, and of the unfounded malice of his enemies, were filled with great joy, inasmuch as it delivered them from the invidious office of commencing a prosecution against a man so much in favour with the Roman people. It must be allowed, that some share of the odium of Pleminius's bad con-

¹⁰ Livy, l. 29, c. 21.

duct fell upon the consul, on account of his extreme lenity through the whole business; and for this his enemies in the senate never failed to inveigh against him, whenever they had the opportunity.

To the remaining charge, relative to the disorder and licentiousness of his army, as connected with his own effeminate life, his manner of treating it was the same, though it was one of a much more serious nature. He made no reply to the commissioners when they waited upon him, for he had prepared, not words, but facts, to answer their charges; but gave orders that they should have free access to all his stores, magazines, arsenals, &c. with full permission to examine his fleet, his seamen, and his army, and after that, to report the condition in which they found both him and them. to the senate. The commissioners, (who consisted of a prætor, ten senators, two tribunes, and one ædile), after taking the necessary time to make their enquiry, and form an opinion, departed from Sicily with the full assurance of the notorious falshood, and groundlessness of the accusation; and declared when they returned to Rome, that if Carthage was to be conquered. it was by him, whose innocence and correctness

of life they fully attested, and by that army which was represented to have been in a state of total insubordination. The very men who were appointed by the senate to investigate his conduct, and the state of his army, became his warmest advocates; and his enemies had the great mortification to learn, that superior lustre was cast on a character which they supposed would have been tarnished for ever.

The life of effeminacy to which Scipio was said to have been addicted, was nothing more than the disposition which he shewed at Syracuse, to make himself acquainted with the learning of the Greeks, and to pass his time partly amongst his books, and partly in the public places of conversation and exercise. He was the first Roman statesman and warrior who manifested any great inclination to study the literature of Greece. It appears from Valerius Maximus, that there was nothing effeminate in his conduct whilst he remained in Sicily; for the exercises in which he indulged, were those of manly recreation 2, and such as were

¹ Livy, l. 29, c. 19.

² Non hac rê segniores Pœnicis exercitibus manus intulit: sed nescio, an ideo alacriores, quia vegeta et strenua ingenia, quo plus recessus sumunt, hoc vehementiores impetus edunt.—V. Maximus, l. 3, c. 6.

the fashion of the place, by which he expected to win the favour of all his young companions in arms. The instances noticed of his licentious behaviour, are his laying aside the Roman habit, and wearing the Greek cloak, and embroidered sandals.

The delay which Scipio made in Sicily, is considered by Seneca4, as an instance of that wisdom which always regulated his life, and raised him above the influence of the angry passions. And what was that conduct? (cries Seneca),-Did he not, (says he), forsaking Hannibal and the Carthaginian army, and all those with whom he had reason to be angry, remove the war into Africa in so dilatory a manner, that they who envied his virtue, accounted him an idle and dissolute man? To give full assurance of the confidence he placed in his army, he said to some friends who were standing with him, "Look at those three hundred men, and that tower near them: there is not a man of them. who would not, were I to give the word of com-

³ In these particulars, Germanicus, whose virtues would have done honour to the best days of Roman freedom, took for his model, whilst in Egypt, the conduct of Scipio in Sicily.—Tacitus An. l. 2, c. 59.

⁴ Seneca de Ira.

⁵ Valerius Maximus.

mand, go up to the top of it, and throw himself down headlong." Whilst Scipio's whole thoughts were fixed on Africa, deputies arrived from Syphax, to acquaint him that their master had entered into a new treaty with the Carthaginians⁶, and was leagued in close friendship with Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, whose daughter, the celebrated Sophonisba, he had just married; at the same time they were desired to add, that it was besides their king's pleasure, that Scipio should not pass into Africa; for if he did, he must be under the necessity of opposing him, not only for the sake of his country, but his wife's sake, whose hatred to Rome was inextinguishable.

This change in Syphax's sentiments, Scipio, with great address, concealed from his army, lest it might cast a damp on the ardour of his men, whose minds were all intent on the approaching war. He dismissed the ambassadors before the object of their mission was made public, with a letter to their master, wherein he exhorted him, in the most pressing terms, "Not to violate the laws of hospitality by which they were joined; to remember the alliance he had

⁶ Livy, l. 29, c. 23,

entered into with the Roman people; and above all things, not betray his faith, honour, and conscience; and lastly, he adjured him to respect and fear the gods, the witnesses and avengers of violated treaties?."

To obviate the danger arising from such intelligence transpiring, he framed an account directly the reverse, which he took care should be made public amongst his troops. When this was done, Scipio gave orders that every thing should be prepared, as there was no longer any time to lose, in consequence of Syphax having dispatched, as he pretended to give out, ambassadors for the sole purpose of discovering what motives could induce him to remain so long in Sicily. As soon as the fleet and army were ready for sea, and Scipio had received the orders of the senate for sailing, he commanded, when day appeared, an herald to proclaim silence; and after having sacrificed to Jupiter and Neptune, he is said to have addressed his army in the following prayer, from the deck of the Pretorian ship.

"Ye gods and goddesses, who inhabit the lands and the seas, I pray and beseech you to

⁷ Livy, l. 29, c. 24.

make whatever has been done, is doing, and shall be done hereafter, under my authority, turn out to the happiness of me, of the state. and people of Rome; of the allies, and of all those of the Latin name, who espouse my cause and follow my orders and auspices; and those of the Roman people by sea, by land, and the rivers. Favour all my undertakings, and further them with good increase. Grant us to return safe and without harm, after having conquered all our enemies, adorned with spoils, laden with booty, and honoured with a triumph. Give us the opportunity of taking vengeance on our foes, and grant, that whatever injury was intended to our state by the Carthaginians, we may be enabled to retaliate the same on their own8."

When this prayer was ended, Scipio threw into the sea, according to custom, the foaming customist of a victim, and immunediately after, by a trumpet, gave the signal for sailing. As

Silius, l. 17, l. 48.

⁸ Livy, l. 29, c. 27.

Ipse alacer Sicula discedens Scipio terra Abscondit late propulsis puppibus æquor, Cui numen pelagi placaverat hostia taurus, Jactaque cæruleis innabant fluctibus exta.

soon as his fleet was drawing nigh the coast of Africa, he prayed to the gods that the first sight of land might be propitious to him and his country: and when he was informed that the first land that appeared in view, was called the Fair Promontory 10, he hailed the omen, and exclaimed, "Let that be our place of landing."

The conquest of Spain, which would have been deemed sufficient in itself to have immortalized any name, was only considered by Scipio as a preliminary step to that by which he was to climb to a much more glorious enterprise, the conquest of Carthage. The news of his landing flew like lightning through the country. and caused such confusion in the Capitol, that the alarm was sounded, and the gates and walls were manned as if the enemy was at hand. a short time after his landing, Massinissa joined the Roman standard, a man who was burning with desire to make war against Syphax, by whom he had been deprived of all his hereditary possessions, and what particularly embittered his feelings, robbed of his betrothed wife.

This junction of Massinissa with Scipio, in-

¹⁰ Pulchri Promontorium, Livy, l. 29, c. 27.

¹ Livy, l. 29, c. 28.

spired the Romans with new confidence, and gave them an assurance that their general had not deceived them, when he spoke of the friends and allies they were to meet with in Africa. In this expedition, Scipio's usual success attended him², for history tells us, that within the space of three years, he destroyed two armies, took and burnt two camps, made Syphax prisoner, recalled Hannibal from Italy, whom he conquered at Zama, and dictated to Carthage the conditions of peace. But there are some interesting features in the melancholy detail of battles and slaughter, that merit particular attention, of which the story of Sophonisba appears the most conspicuous. This celebrated woman was the daughter of Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, and is represented by every historian, as possessing extraordinary beauty, great talents, captivating manners, and a courage above her sex. When Sophonisba was very young, Asdrubal betrothed her to Massinissa, in order that he might bind him the more securely to the interest of Carthage; but the moment that that gallant prince was dispossessed of his kingdom, her father broke his promise, and gave her to Syphax, who, unmindful of all former engage-

² Florus, l. 2, c. 6.

ments with Scipio, entered into a new alliance with the Carthaginians³: of this the Roman general received intelligence previous to his sailing from Sicily.

In the further prosecution of the war which was carried on by the Romans in Africa, Massinissa succeeded in vanquishing all his enemies. In a last decisive action, he overcame Asdrubal and Syphax, of whom the latter being made prisoner, was sent afterwards in chains to Rome⁴. The young Numidian, elated with his success, as well as with the approbation of his general, for his gallant conduct, asked permission to advance with the cavalry, and Syphax in custody, to

Silius, l. 17, l. 71.

Invadunt, vanumque fugæ, atque adtollere fessos Adnitentem artus, revocato a vulnere telo, Corripiunt: tum vincla viro, manicæque, pudendum! Addita, et exemplum non unquam fidere lætis, Sceptriferas arta palmas vinxêre catena.

³ Virgo erat eximiâ speciê, claroque parentê, Asdrubalis proles, thalamis quam cæpit ut altis, Ceu facê succensus primâ, tædâque jugali Vertit opes gener ad Pœnos, Latiæque solute Fœdere amicitiæ, dotalia transtulit arma.

⁴ The capture of Syphax when fallen from his horse, is thus mentioned by Silius Italicus, in his 17th Book,

Cirtha', the capital of the kingdom. On his arrival, he ordered the principal inhabitants to be invited to a conference. As they were ignorant of their king's misfortune, neither Massinissa's relation of what had passed, nor his threats nor persuasions produced any effect, until their king was shewn them in chains. The sight of Syphax in a condition of such fallen grandeur excited a general consternation; some in terror deserted the walls, others ran to conciliate the favour of the conqueror, and all seemed inclined to give him a civil reception.

Massinissa, as soon as he had placed proper guards around the town, and taken care that none should make their escape, advanced with all speed to take possession of the palace, in the vestibule of which appeared in all her beauty the wife of Syphax. The instant the queen discovered in the midst of a body of armed men⁶, a person distinguished by the splendour of his armour, the richness of his dress, and a certain air of superior dignity, and judging rightly this must be Massinissa, she immediately fell down at his feet, and thus addressed him: "The gods, your valour, and fortune, have

⁵ Cirtha caput regni Syphacis erat.—Livy.

⁶ Livy, l. 30, c. 12.

made you arbiter of our fate. But if a captive woman may be permitted to use the language of a supplicant, before him who has the disposal of her life and death; if it may be allowed her to touch his knees and victorious right hand; I beseech you, by the majesty of a king, with which we were so lately invested, by the name of Numidian, which we bear in common with Syphax, and by the guardian deities of this palace (O that they may receive you under happier auspices, than they have sent Syphax from it!), by all the aforesaid ties, I implore you to grant me this one favour—that you will yourself dispose of me according to your pleasure, and not suffer me to fall into the power of any proud or cruel Were I but the wife of Syphax, I had rather trust to the honour of a Numidian, to one warmed by the same sun with myself, than to any alien born in a strange country. ignorant of what a Carthaginian and a daughter of Asdrubal, has to dread from a Roman-I,"

"Who in my veins from Asdrubal deriv'd,

[&]quot; Hold Carthaginian enmity to Rome."

[&]quot;If you can by no other means than by death, secure me from the power of the Romans, I ask this as the last and greatest favour you can bestow."

. Whilst she was imploring for mercy, her entreaties were more like the blandishments of love than the supplications of pity; and as such, failed not to make a deep impression on Massinissa's heart. He looked tenderly on Sophonisba, and as his heart was of the most tender mould, he held out to her his right hand, as an assured pledge of the performance of what she asked, without once taking into consideration the difficulties attending its execution7. But when he began to reflect by what means he was to accomplish his engagement, and being incapable of devising any that were practicable, he had recourse to one that was both imprudent and desperate, inasmuch as it was suggested by the most violent of all passions, that of love. . He resolved on immediately marrying her, supposing that no Roman could think of treating the wife of Massinissa as a prisoner of war. Sophonisba herself was of opinion, that by acceding to the wishes of Massinissa, she should be protected from Roman malice; nay, she flattered herself with the hopes of raising up to Rome a dangerous enemy out of a faithful friend.

Massinissa, who was but a subaltern in the Roman army, had no right to make such a promise.—Universal History.

Soon after the marriage was concluded, Leelius arrived, and so far was he from giving his approbation to what had pessed, that he was almost resolved to drag her from the nuptial bed, and send her with Syphax, and the other prisoners to Scipio; but at length he suffered himself to be persuaded by Massinissa, who hesought him to refer the whole business to the judgment of the commander-in-chief.

Then Lælius sent Syphan to the Roman camp, and proceeded to the subjugation of the remaining part of Numidia, which, with the assistance of Massinissa, he soon reduced to the dominion of Rome. As soon as Syphan's arrival was annoneced in the Roman camp, it ministered to every one abundant matter of discourse: the mighty armies he had lately brought into the field, and his princely entertainment of Scipio and Asdrubal, when Rome and Carthage courted his friendship, added to other considerations of past and future fortune, all tended to excite various sensations, not only of joy, but sorrow. Even Scipio himself was deeply affected,

SILIUS, l. 17, l. 148.

Ducitur ex alto dejectus culmine regni, Qui modo sub pedibus terras, et sceptra, patensque Litora ad Oceani sub nutû viderat æquor.

when he compared the former situation of Syphax with what it was at present; and when he called to his remembrance the sacred rites of hospitality, the private amity, and public alliance they had contracted together. He asked Syphax what induced him, not only to forsake the friendship of the Romans, but to make war upon them without any provocation?

Syphax scrupled not to declare, "that he had greatly erred, and acted under an impulse of insanity; but not at the time when he took up arms against the Romans; for that act was the consequence of his madness, not its commencement." He said, his entire conduct was to be ascribed to the counsels and intrigues of Sophonisba, whose irresistible charms had deprived him of his reason, and made him prefer Carthage to Rome: adding, that the principal source of his misfortune flowed from having received a Carthaginian wife into his house—

Who put the nuptial torch into my hand,
That set my throne, my palace, and my kingdom,
All in a blaze."

Then, to awaken suspicion and distrust in Scipio's mind, Syphax concluded with saying, "That in the midst of all his calamities, he had

the consolation of seeing the same fusy, the cause of his own ruin, transplanted into the house of his most deadly foe."-On hearing this. Scipio was greatly troubled in his mind. and perplexed at the idea of this perilous woman robbing him of Massinissa, as she had done of Syphax. Fears were naturally entertained, that the dominion she had gained over the mind of Massinissa, would soon enable this artful woman to draw him into all her views and ambitious schemes. In this doubtful state of Scipio's mind, Massinissa and Lælius arrived; and both were courteously received by their commanderin-chief, and commended in public for their great services in the late expedition. After shewing the Numidian this public mark of his attention, Scipio gave him a private audience? in which he most candidly remonstrated with him on the subject of Sophonisba, and told him that her life was now in the absolute power of the Romans, and that her enmity to Rome was not to be extinguished. In consideration of which, he implored him to moderate his affection, and not tarnish the memory of his meritorious services, (for which he should be amply

⁹ Livy, l. 30, c. 14.

rewarded), by a fault, too great to be extenuated even by what had given rise to it.

Massinissa blushed and wept; and after a severe struggle between affection and ambition, was at length forced to sacrifice the former to the views of aggrandisement, and the prosperity of his kingdom. In compliance, however, with a promise exacted from him by this extraordinary and high-minded woman, rather to suffer her to die, than fall into the hands of the Romans, he retired in great sorrow and confusion from Scipio's tent to his own;

For grief finds charms in solitude itself.

After spending some time in sighs and groans, which, says Livy, were distinctly heard by those who stood on the outside of the tent, he called to him a trusty slave, who had the charge of his poison, (which princes used to have in readiness for all such vicissitudes of fortune as rendered existence intolerable), and tempering a

nissa to deliver up Syphax's wife; that the prince refusing to comply, the general sharply forbad him to think of keeping by force, what of right belonged to the Roman people; and having commanded him to give up the prey, added, that then, if he pleased, he might petition for it.

potion of it for Sophonisba, sent it to her, with the following impressive admonition: that (since his actions were now no longer in his own power) she should, as a Carthaginian, as the daughter of Asdrubal, as the wife of two kings, to whom she had been married, consult her own safety in the way most becoming her high character.

When the magnanimous Sophonisba heard this, she said, "I accept with gratitude this pleasing, though fatal nuptial present, since it is all that Massinissa has to offer his queen. Tell him I should have died with more honour, had I not married on the very brink of the grave." When she uttered these words, she shewed the

Quel present nuptial d'un epoux à son femme;
Qu'au jour d'un hymenée il lui marque de flame;
Reportez, Mazetulle, à vostre illustre roy
Un secours dont luy-mesme a plus besoin que moi,
Il ne manquera pas d'en faire un digne usage
Dès qu'il aura des yeux à voir son esclavage.
Mais quant à Sophonisbe, il m'est permis de dire
Qu'elle est Carthaginoise, et cet mot doit suffire.
Elle meurt à mes yeux, mais elle meurt sans trouble,
Et soutient en mourant la pompe d'un couroux
Que semble moins mourir, que triomphe de nous.

Cornellle—Sophoniebe.

cup to her nurse, and entreating her not to lament her death, belely drank off the poison, without changing colour or expressing a single complaint². Few deaths have been so truly heroic as Sophonisba's, without complaint, reproach, or regret. We should despise Massinissa, could we suppose, that a curule chair, a purple robe, or a chain of gold, were capable of giving him the least consolation. Yet the ambitious may imagine that he found some alleviation to his sorrows in the name of king, and in the hopes of being soon requited for such services with the sovereignty of all Numidia.

PETRARCH-Africa.

These lines, which close the life of the magnanimous Sophonisba, are taken from the long neglected poem, entitled Africa, written by Petrarch, and are peculiarly striking. There are many other passages in the same poem conceived with great force and fire, and expressed with equal elegance of language; among which, Hayley, in his hostorical notes, notices the lines which describe the anguish of the young Numidian prince when he is constrained to leave his bride, and those which announce Sophonisba's first appearance in the regions of the dead.

² Illa manû pateramque tenens, et lumina cœlo Attollens, sol alme, inquit, superique valete: Massinissa vale, nostri memor: inde malignum Ceu sitiens haurit non motâ frontê venenum, Tartareasque petit violentus spiritus rembras.

When Scipio was made acquainted with the tragical catastrophe, he sent for Massinissa, and afforded him all the comfort in his power, from an apprehension lest his melancholy might lead him to some desperate act. But in time the caresses of Scipio, and the solid benefits conferred upon him by the Romans, served to efface all remembrance of the daughter of Asdrubal, and of his early attachment.

Appian says, that Massinissa, after exposing to the Romans Sophonisba's dead body, gave it a funeral worthy of a queen. It has been asked, was there no other way by which Massinissa could have delivered his bride from Roman severity? Might he not by a separation, and a promise never to see her more, have secured her liberty and life? As Massinissa, without a moment's hesitation, preferred the most violent means, it is probable he was well acquainted with the unalterable firmness of Scipio, in the resolution he had adopted?. The late defection

^{3 &}quot;Massinissa knew, (says Lord Lyttelton, in one of his Dialogues), that Sophonisba's ruling passion was ambition, not love. He could not rationally esteem her, when she quitted Syphax, whom she had ruined, who had lost his crown and his liberty in the cause of her country, and for her sake, to give her person to him, the capital foe of that unfortunate husband. He must, in spite of

of Syphax was a powerful instance of the baneful ascendancy of Sophonisba's charms; and as Scipio was acquainted not only with this predominant influence of the queen, but with her eternal enmity to the Roman people, he consequently dreaded a like effect on the mind of Massinissa. These considerations, added to a Roman's love of his country, which was a passion too strong to be restrained within the more confined limits of common morality, hardened his heart, and rendered him not only unfeeling, but inflexible on the occasion.

Another feature in this war, is one to which Polyhius particularly alludes, and as it serves to exalt Scipio's character as a soldier, I shall briefly notice it. He attacked by night, and burnt the two camps of Asdrubal and Syphax, and destroyed in a few hours an army consisting of forty thousand men, with a loss too inconsi-

his passion, (concludes his Lordship), have thought her a perfidious, a detestable woman."—Hence, perhaps, Massinissa's easy compliance with the wishes of Scipio.

⁴ The false notions, says Melmoth, which the Romans had embraced concerning the glory of their country, taught them to subdue every affection of humanity, and extinguish every dictate of justice which opposed that destructive principle.

detable to be noticed in history. The assault of the Romans was so sudden, that Syphax fled naked out of his bed, and with great difficulty made his escape from the flames. The information on which Scipio planned and executed this exploit, was not exactly procured in the most honourable manner, for it was obtained by a stratagem almost amounting to a breach of faith; but which was considered as allowable by the laws of war, and of a war carried on against the people of Africa. Alas, poor Africa! from that time until the present, thy sons have been exposed to the insolence, and insults, and cruel traffic of a world always boasting of its superior civilisation.

Though Scipio, says Polybius, was distin-

Sentitur plerisque prius quam carnitur, iguis
Excitis somno, multorumque ora vocantâm
Auxilium invadunt flammæ. Fluit undique victor
Mulciber, et rapidis complexibus arma virosque
Corripit: exundat Pestis, semustaque castra
Albenti volitant per nubila summa favillâ.
Ipsius ingenti regis* tentoria saltu,
Lugubre increpitans, latè circumvolat ardor:
Haussissitque virum, trepidus ni clade satelles
E somno ac stratis rapuisset multa precantem.

^{*} Syphax.

guished by a series of brilliant actions, there was none, in his judgment, among all he performed. so glorious and adventurous as the atchievement just noticed. Before he undertook it. says Appian, he sacrificed to Courage and Fear, that none of his men might be struck with a panic hr night, but, on the contrary, that all might do their duty without any interruption. It is mentioned, that of the spoils taken from the enemy. he made an offering of them, out of gratitude, to the God of Fire. It is a most lamentable reflection, to think with what indifference great victories are perused; when, if men were but to consider the sorrow attending every individual that falls in battle, their hearts, hardened as they generally are by bad education, would be softened. Were the very conquerors themselves to have beheld the horrid scene⁶ that must have presented itself to their eyes on the following morning, is there one of them would not have

⁶ Livy describes it: Multos in ipsis aubilibus semisomnos hausit flamma, multi in præcipitî fugâ, ruentes super
alios alii; in angustiis portarum obtriti sunt. Ambusti
homines, jumentaque fædå primum fugâ, dein stragé,
obruerant itinera portarum. Quos non oppresserat ignis,
ferro absumpti: bianque castra cladê unâ deleta.—Livx,
1. 30, c. 5-6.

been shocked at the sight? Though the lives of human creatures are a consideration as light as air, in the scale of restless and insatiable ambition, yet their preservation is the dearest and most sacred of all objects to the heart of religion and humanity.

Sir Walter Raleigh, in speaking of war, says, that there is no profession more unprosperous than that of military men and great captains, being no kings; for besides the envy and jealousies of men, the spoils, rapes, famine, and slaughter of the innocent⁸, vastation and burning, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, all so hateful to God, as with good reason did make Monluc, the marshal of France, confess, "That were not the mercies of God infinite, and without restriction, it were in vain for those of his profession to hope for a portion of them; seeing the cruelties by them permitted and committed, were also infinite. And how, (continues the same writer), have the greatest

⁸ Cicero describes some of the horrors of war: Vastantur agri, diripiuntur villæ, matres-familias, virgines, pueri ingenui abripiuntur, militibusque traduntur.

⁹ Tous les vices réunis de tous les ages, et de tous les lieux n'egaleront jamais les maux, que produit une seule campagne.—VOLTAIRE.

warriors, even those whose virtues have raised them above the level of their inferiors, been rewarded?—with disgrace, with banishment, and death."

But to return to the African war, of which one of its most important features was the revocation of Hannibal from Italy. When the Carthaginian heard the words of the ambassadors who were sent to recall him, it is said he gnashed his teeth, and groaned, and was scarcely able to refrain from tears. Hannibal's departure this year from Italy, proved some consolation to Rome for the recent death of Fabius, a man who, by his victorious delays, baffled all the schemes of the Carthaginians, and who, by the character he displayed as a soldier, deservedly merited the appellation of Maximus.

And thou; great hero, greatest of thy name', Ordain'd in war to save the sinking state, And by delays, to put a stop to fate.

VIRGIL.

par ingenium castrisque, togæque.

Ductor defixos Italà tellurè tenebat
Intentus vultus, manantesque ora rigabant
Per tacitum lachrymæ, et suspiria crebra ciebat.
Silius, l. 17, 213.

Livy, l. 30, c. 20.

¹ Unus homo nobis canotando restituit rem.

After the ambassadors had delivered their message, Hannibal said, "It is now I am indeed recalled, and that not ambiguously, but explicitly. My enemies, it is true, have been for some time past dragging me home, by withholding the necessary supplies of men and money. But remember, it is not the Roman people, whom I have so often beaten, that have subdued Hannibal; it is the base Senate of my own country, moved by the paltry motives of envy and jealousy. Scipio is not the man who will have so much reason to triumph in my recall as Hanno, who has at last succeeded in burying our family under the ruins of Carthage; and that, because he had no other way of accomplishing their ruin."

'Hannibal had long foreseen what his ungrateful country now effected, and had ships always
in readiness for his departure. Never did an
exile² feel more regret in leaving his native land,
than he did in quitting Italy. Often did he cast
his eyes on her retiring shores, and often, says
Livy, did he call down curses on his head, for
not marching to Rome after his victory at

Haud secus ac patriam pulsus dulcesque penates
Linqueret, et tristes exsul traheretur in oras.
Silius, l. 17, 216.

Cannæ³. Melancholy was his voyage from Italy to-Africa, and sorrowful were his reflections, as often as he thought of the last sixteen years of his life.

As soon as he came within sight of land4, he asked one of the sailors to tell him what part of the coast they were coming to. The sailor said, they were making to a place where he discovered the ruins of an old sepulchre. Hannibal startled at the sound, bade the pilot pass on as fast as he could. Soon after the whole army landed at Leptis, a place of little consequence. situate between Susa and Adrumetum. After refreshing his troops, he advanced to Adrumetum, and then proceeded to Zama, a town of Numidia Propria, within five days' journey of Carthage. From this place he dispatched spies, to learn, if possible, the situation and strength of the Roman force⁶. These spies were soon

³ Quid: tunc sat compos qui non ardentia tela A Cannis in templa tuli Tarpeia? Jovenique Detraxi solio? Sparsissem incendia montes Per septem bello vacuos, gentique superbæ Iliacum exitium, et proavorum fata dedissem.

SILIUS, 1. 17, 225.

⁴ Livy, l. 80, c. 25.

⁵ Livy, l. 30, c. 29.

Valerius Maximus, l. 3, c. 7.

apprehended, and though it is customary in all nations to put them to instant death, Scipio issued orders for conducting them through the camp and army, and then dismissed them7, with full permission to report all they had seen to their general. By such confidence of mind, he dampt the courage of the enemy, before he vanquished their arms. Hannibal was greatly affected by the magnanimity which Scipio displayed on this occasion; just as, it is said, he had been before, by an answer which the Roman general made to some persons who were calling down vengeance on the heads of the Carthaginians for the violation of a treaty. "The crime of which the Carthaginians have been guilty, in despising the most sacred, and respected rights. is not enough to justify me in following their example." Such instances of magnanimous feeling, induced Hannibal to offer proposals of peace, (to which the Roman general assented), and to propose an interview for taking the same into consideration. This meeting took place in an open plain, which lay extended between the two armies, called Nadagara.

⁷ Prandium dari jubet exploratoribus, dimittique, ut renunciaret Hannibali, quæ apud Romanos vidissent.— EUTROPIUS.

He world's two captains, (for besides them, none Merits the name in equal competition)

Met to have conference, where, for a space

They stood astonish'd at each other's presence.

The Roman was in the prime of life, and possessed all the advantages which characterize manly beauty. He was tall and graceful in his person, of a benign countenance, and engaging aspect. The Carthaginian was almost the very reverse: his countenance bore the deep impressions of many a hard-fought field: and this, added to the loss of an eye, gave a peculiar sternness to his whole appearance.

Hannibal is thus reported to have addressed the Roman⁹: "As the fates have decreed that I, who first made war on the Roman people, should be the first to sue for peace, I am glad it is to you, Scipio, I am come to solicit it. I am glad it is to the son of that man I am come, over whose father I was formerly victorious. He was the first Roman general with whom I fought; and it is to his son I am now come un-

Scipio and Hannibal, an historical tragedy, by Thomas Nabbes, 1637.

⁹ Livy, l. 30, c. 30.

armed, to ask for peace. It will not, I think, be considered as the least glorious event in your illustrious life, that Hannibal, to whom the gods granted victory over so many Roman captains. has laid the palm of victory at your feet; and that you should be the man to put an end to a war, which is more memorable by your defeats, than by ours. Such an incident as this is well entitled to a place amongst the singular sports of fortune. O that the gods had given our ancestors that moderation, which I hope inspires us both this day;—that pacific spirit I mean, which would have made you content with the dominion of Italy, and ourselves with that of Africa. What an effusion of blood might not then have been spared, for which no trophies of victory, no rewards of valour, can make now any compensation? For my part, I have received so much instruction from age, coming home an old man to my country, which I left when a boy; and so much also from both adversity and prosperity, that I feel well inclined to follow reason, rather than fortune. You are a young man, and not yet tutored in the school of adversity, and will probably pay little attention to my suggestions: nay, I fear your youth, in consequence of uninterrupted success, will

prompt you to reject all offers of peace. The man whom fortune has never forsaken, seldom reflects on her inconstancy. You are now, Scipio, what I was at Thrasymene, and Cannæ, when I was considering with myself in what manner I should dispose both of you and your country. Behold now the change:—behold Hannibal in Africa, who, after encamping within five miles of Rome, is come to treat with a Roman, not only for his own safety, but for that of his country.

"It may be asked here, is fortune to be trusted because she smiles? A secure peace is ever to be preferred to the hope of victory. The first is in your own power, the latter in that of the gods. Peace is the end of all victory, and that is what my country now sends me to offer. Leave not to the chance of an hour, that honourable fame, which an age of victories has given you. One hour may strip you of all your glory. If you conquer, little will be the addition made to your glory: if you are conquered, all your glory will perish.

"I know it is the privilege of him who grants peace, not of him who asks it, to prescribe its conditions. I allow there is reason for your distrusting the faith of the Carthaginians, be-

cause they violated the late treaty; but it should be recollected, that the observance of treaties, and the preservation of peace, greatly depends on the honour of him who sues for it. A want of character in our ambassadors is said to have been a principal reason for the rejecting our late petition in favour of peace. But it is Hannibal who now sues for peace, and who would not sue for it, if he did not think it expedient, and who, for that reason, independent of all others, will faithfully maintain it; and in the consideration of having conducted the late war, to which I was so accessary, in such a prosperous way, as to give no man reason to complain, till the gods themselves grew jealous of my glory, so I shall now exert all my endeavours, that no man may have cause to complain of the peace obtained by me."

To this Scipio is said to have made the following reply 10: "Notwithstanding the Carthaginians have violated their solemn plighted faith, and the laws of nations, with respect to ambassadors, yet I shall not treat them in a way unbecoming the honour of the Roman people, nor the principles of moderation which

¹⁰ Livy, l. 30, c. 31.

have always been the rule of my own conduct. The treaty of peace, Hannibal, to which you have alluded, was violated by your countrymen, in consequence of the hopes which were held out of your return. Even during the continuance of that treaty, some gross outrages were committed, that still call aloud for redress, and which, if fully and fairly atoned for, might probably lead to a new treaty. No man is more sensible of the inconstancy of fortune than I am, nor more aware of the thousand casualties to which every military exploit is particularly liable.

"In the wars you have noticed, Hannibal, the Carthaginians were always the aggressors; and of all people, they should be the last to complain of their consequences. The Carthaginians, I repeat it, were always the first to commence hostilities; and the gods, by giving victory to those who were unjustly attacked, shewed that they directed the issue of them according to right and equity. For my part, I can never condemn myself for engaging in a defensive war, founded on justice and necessity, which alone can legitimate war, and make it virtue. In fine, if in addition to the terms on which peace was intended first to have been made, (and with them you are already ac-

quainted), a full compensation be given for the seizing of our ships, and stores, during the existence of the truce; and for the insult offered to our ambassadors, I shall then have matter to lay before my council. But if all this seem too severe, prepare for war, since you could not endure peace."

The sentiments expressed by Scipio, in justification of war, are congenial with those which always actuated the Emperor Antoninus Pius¹, who never engaged in any hostile contest but upon absolute necessity, and in actual self-defence. This illustrious man loved peace, and was desirous of maintaining it. By this humanity of disposition, he was not only beloved by his subjects, who considered him more in the light of a father and protector, than a master, but by all foreign princes and nations, who admired his goodness and equity. His power and virtue filled them with profound respect for

This excellent emperor held the sound opinion of Caius Pontius, the general of the Samnites, on the subject of war: "Justum est Bellum, Samnites, quibus necessarium, et pia arma, quibus nulla nisi in armis relinquitur spes."—Liv. l. 9, c. 1.

This was the opinion of the late Mr. Fox, a man of the most enlightened understanding that ever lived.

his character; and as he never made war from motives of ambition upon people who continued in peace, so other nations were neither able nor willing to interrupt this tranquillity, which was more glorious to him than the most splendid triumphs in war. During his entire reign, he persevered in the design of maintaining the dignity of the empire, without attempting to enlarge its limits. By every honourable expedient he invited the friendship of foreign nations, and endeavoured to convince mankind that the Roman power, raised above the temptation of conquest, was actuated only by the love of order and justice. Whilst he lived, the Roman name was revered among the most remote nations of the earth. If the sentiments that influenced and guided the conduct of this truly virtuous emperor, were imprinted on the minds of every sovereign in Europe, the title of most christian might be applied not in mockery, but in reality, to each of them.

Peace, says Silius Italicus², is one of the

Quos homini novisse datum est, pax una triumphis
Innumeris melior, pax custodire salutem,
Et cives aquare potens.

Silius.

greatest blessings known to mortals: peace brings along with it more honours than myriads of triumphs: peace is that which can alone maintain public safety and equality amongst men.

Homer introduces Jupiter, expressing his displeasure against the god of war, in the following words:

Of all the gods that in Olympus dwell, Thou art to me most hateful; for in strife, In war, and battles, ever is thy joy.

In another passage, the same divine author introduces Nestor, the wisest of his heroes, expressing his displeasure against the man who takes pleasure in war:

Curs'd is the man, and void of law and right,
Unworthy property, unworthy light;
Unfit for public rule, or private care,
That wretch, that monster, who delights in war;
Whose lust is murder, and whose horrid joy,
To tear his country, and his kind destroy.

Of the same sentiments is Euripides, who expresses himself in the following lines on the same subject:

Parent of wealth, celestial Peace, Thou fairest of the heavenly train, O why, Why this delay? Wilt thou again
These longing eyes ne'er visit? How I fear
That age, insensible and cold,
My trembling limbs will seize, e'er I shall hail
The moment of thy blest return
With the crown'd banquet, and the choral song.

But to return to our conference, from which I fear I have digressed too much: it ended without any accommodation, and the two generals retired each to his camp. Preparations were now made by both, for determining the mighty contest by the last, and worst of all appeals, the sword: the Carthaginians were to contend not only for their own safety and security, but for that of all Africa; and the Romans for the empire of the whole world. Never was there a more momentous contest3, whether we consider the characters and abilities of the two illustrious generals, the high military prowess of the two armies, the magnitude of both states, or the consequence that was to follow. Scipio, as he was marching to battle, told his men, "that the

^{——}Non alio graviores tempore vidit,
Aut populos tellus, aut, qui patria arma moverent,
Majores certare duces. Discriminis alta
In medio merces, quidquid tegit undique cœlum.
Silius, l. 17, l. 387.

gods⁴ had shewn them the same prodigies, under the auspices of which their fathers had fought and conquered at the islands Ægates. The end of the war, and of all their toils, (he added), was now at hand; the plunder of Carthage within their grasp, and a speedy return to their homes, their country, their parents, their children, their wives, and household gods." These words he uttered in an erect attitude⁵, and with a countenance so animated with joy, that he seemed as if he had already obtained the victory.

Though I have declined entering into a particular detail of any part of Scipio's military conduct, from a conviction of not being able to throw any new light on it, yet the battle of Zama holds such a conspicuous place in the history of the world, as makes an account of it necessary, which I shall take the liberty of transcribing from the History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic, a work which constitutes a valuable addition to the lite-

⁴ Le merveilleux de cette enterprise infernale, (says Voltaire), c'est, que chaque chef des Meurtriers fait benir ses drapeaux; et invoque Dieu solemnement avant d'aller exterminer son prochain.

⁵ Celsus hæc corpore vultuque ita læto, ut vicisse jam crederes, dicebat.—Livy, l. 30, c. 32.

rature of the country, and gives its author a most respectable rank among our greatest historians.

"Hannibal formed his army in three lines, with his elephants in front. Scipio arranged his men in their usual divisions, but somewhat differently disposed. Hannibal had above eighty elephants, with which he proposed to begin the

⁶ Neither Polybius nor Livy mention the number of troops Hannibal and Scipio had at Zama.

⁷ Ces deux ordres de bataille, (observes Folard), sont uniques et fort singuliers. Celui de Scipion est tres remarquable et digne de l'admiration des sçavans dans la tactique et dans l'etude de l'infanterie. Si l'on veut bien faire attention à cette disposition du general Romain, on conviendra qu'il ne s'est rien pratiqué dans l'antiquité de plus merveilleux et de plus parfait dans la disposition de l'infanterie dans de la faire combattre et de se ranger. Ce n'est pas la ruse et la valeur des troupes que decident d'une action si fameuse, c'est l'intelligence, c'est l'habilité du general qui connoit parfaitement la force de l'infanterie et la methode de la faire combattre. Annibal. à uni cette maniere de combattre, et de se ranger etoit apperavent inconnue, pouvoit dire comme Lysandre, qu'il avoit été vaincu non faute de courage, mais d'art. L'on peut dire que cette journée est celle de toute l'antiquité, où il se soit passé des choses plus extraordinaires; autant dans ce que regarde l'obstination des combattans, que dans l'art et la conduite des generaux.

action. Behind these, he drew up the mercenary troops, composed of Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. In a second line he placed the Africans, and natives of Carthage, with a legion of Macedonians; and in a third line, about two-hundred yards behind the first, he placed the veterans, who had shared with himself in all the dangers and honours of the Italian war. He placed his cavalry in the wings, opposite to those of the enemy.

"Scipio posted Lælius, with the Roman cavalry, on the left; and Massinissa, with the Numidian horse, on the right. He placed the companies or divisions of the legions, not as usual, mutually covering their intervals, but covering each other from front to rear. object in this disposition, was to leave continued avenues or lines, through which the elephants might pass, without disordering the columns. At the head of each line he placed the velites, or irregular infantry, with orders to gall the elephants, and endeavour to force them back upon their own lines; or, if this could not be effected. to fly before them into the intervals of the heavy-armed foot, and by the ways which were left open between the companies, to conduct them into the rear.

" As soon as the cavalry began to skirmish on the wings. Hannibal gave the signal for the elephants to charge, but such a terrible shout was raised by the Romans, that they were thrown into great disorder. Besides, they were received by such a shower of missile weapons from their light infantry, that, as usual, they carried their riders in different directions. Some broke into their own line with considerable confusion: others fled between the armies, and escaped by the flanks; and many, incited with rage, as Scipio had foreseen, pursued the enemy that had galled them, through the intervals of the Roman divisions, quite out of the action; and in a little time the front of the two armies was cleared of these animals, and of all the irregulars who had skirmished between them in the beginning of the battle. In the mean time, the first and second line of Hannibal's foot had advanced, to profit by the impression which the elephants were supposed likely to make. The third line still remained on its ground, and seemed to stand aloof from the action. In this posture, the first line of the Carthaginian army, composed of Gauls and Ligurians, engaged with the Roman legions, and after a short resistance, were forced back on the second line, who having orders not

to receive them, nor allow them to pass, presented their arms. The fugitives were accordingly massacred on both sides, and fell by the swords of their own party, or by those of the enemy. The second line, consisting of the African and native troops of Carthage, had a similar fate: they perished by the hands of the Romans, or by those of their own reserve, who had orders to receive them on their swords, and turn them back, if possible, against the enemy.

"Scipio, after so much blood had been shed, finding his men out of breath, and spent with hard labour, embarrassed with heaps of the slain, scarcely able to keep their footing on ground, become slippery with mud and gore, and in these circumstances, likely to be instantly attacked by a fresh enemy, who had yet borne no part in the contest, he endeavoured without loss of time, to put himself in a situation to renew the engagement. His exvalry, by good fortune, were victorious on both wings, and were gone in pursuit of the enemy. He ordered the ground to be cleared; and his columns, in the original form of the action, having been somewhat displaced, he ordered those of the first line to close to the centre, those of the second and third to divide, and gaining the flanks, to

form in a continued line with the front. In this manner, while the ground was clearing of the dead, probably by the velites, or irregular troops, he with the least possible loss of time, and without any interval of confusion, completed his line to receive the enemy.

"An action ensued, which being to decide the event of this memorable war, was probably to remain some time in suspense; when the cavalry of the Roman army, returning from the pursuit of the horse they had routed, fell on the flank of the Carthaginian infantry, and obliged them to give way. Hannibal had rested his hopes of victory on the disorder that might arise from the attack of his elephants, and if this should fail, on the steady valour of the veterans, whom he reserved for the last effort to be made, when he supposed that the Romans, already exhausted in their conflict with the two several lines whom he sacrificed to their ardour in the

Massinissa and Lælius commanded the Roman cavalry, whose arrival was so seasonable, that it was ascribed to the favour of Heaven.—Polybius.

The return of Massinissa and Lælius from the pursuit of the enemy's horse, is said to have been most happy, and in a needful time.—SIR W. RALEIGH.

The arrival of the Prussians, was no less seasonable to the Duke of Wellington, at the battle of Waterloo.

beginning of the battle, might be unable tocontend with the third, yet fresh for action, and ingred to victory... He was disappointed in the effect of his elephants, by the precaution which Scipio had taken in opening his intervals, and in forming continued lanes for their passage from front to rear; and of the effect of his reserve, by the return of the enemy's horse while the action was yet undecided. Having taken no measures to secure a retreat, nor to save any part of his army, he obstinately fought every minute of the day to the last, and when he could delay the victory of the enemy no longer, he quitted the field with a small party of horse, of whom many. overwhelmed with hunger and fatigue, having fallen by the way, he arrived with a few, in the course of two days and two nights, at Hadrumetum."

Hannibal, says Montesquieu, was conquered in a battle in which fortune seemed to delight in confounding his ability, his experience, and good sense. A peace followed, which closed the wounds of the second Punic war, in the seventeenth year from its commencement, and of the city 5519. The Carthaginian displayed the abili-

⁹ Finem accepit secundum Punicum bellum, post annum septimum decimum, quam cæperat.—EUTROPIUS.

ties of a consummate soldier; and if he was conquered, says Polybius, he may well be pardoned ; for fortune sometimes counteracts the designs of valiant men, and sometimes, in conformity to the proverb,

A brave man, by a braver is subdued'.

And this is all must be allowed to have happened on the present occasion. The singular skill that Hannibal shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by Polybius, and was acknowledged, as Livy reports, by Scipio himself. But the enemies, adds Sir Walter Raleigh, were too strong for him in horse, and being enjoined, as he was by the state of Carthage, to take battle with such disadvantage, he could work no marvels.

Hannibal retreated, as has been observed, to Hadrumetum after the battle, from whence he

¹⁰ Le jour qu'elle fut donnée, Annibal se surpassa luimème, soit à prendre ses avantages, soit à disposer son armée, soit à donner les ordres dans le combat: mais enfin le genie de Rome l'emporta sur celui de Carthage, et la defaite des Carthaginois laissa pour jamais l'empire aux Romains.—St. EVREMOND.

Εσθλος εων, αλλω κρωττονος αντετυχει.

was soon recalled to Carthage, where he had not been for the space of six and thirty years. When he appeared in the Senate, he allowed he was vanquished, and declared there was no other way of avoiding ruin than by making peace, the hard conditions of which, we know, were dictated by Scipio, and submitted to by the Carthaginians; which made Montesquieu say, that they received the conditions of peace, not from an enemy, but from a sovereign.

The ambition of Scipio might have disposed him to press his victory to the utmost, in order that he might carry, instead of a treaty, the spoils of Carthage to adorn his triumph at Rome. But the eager impatience with which the consuls of the present and past year endeavoured to snatch out of his hands the glory of terminating the war, may, with other reasons of higher consideration, have induced him to receive the submission of the vanquished upon the first terms that appeared sufficiently honourable, and adequate to the object of the commission with which he was entrusted. Whenever an allusion was made to this circumstance, Scipio used to say, that Claudins, by his eagerness to supplant him in the command. had saved the republic of Carthage. But it

seldom happens that men act from any single motive, and Scipio may naturally be supposed to have had other and nobler ends in view, than the paltry jealousy arising from a successor; as it is now admitted upon good authority, that he spared the rival of his country for the purpose of maintaining an emulation of national courage and national virtue. This better motive was ascribed to him by Cato, his former questor, in a speech which he made in the senate before he died, one who was never known to flatter him, or any other man.

On the conclusion of the peace, four thousand captives obtained their liberty, five hundred gallies were delivered up, and burnt, and the first payment of the stipulated sum demanded. Whilst this last article was under consideration, some members of the Carthaginian senate were observed to weep: on seeing this, Hannibal smiled, and being questioned for offering such an insult to the public distress, he made this answer: "That a smile of scorn for those who felt not the loss of their country, until it affected their own interest, was the strongest expression of sorrow for Carthage."

As the presence of Scipio was now no longer necessary in Africa, he made preparations for his departure; but previous to its taking place, he gave Massinissa entire posession of all Numidia, in which grant were included, not only the dominions of his old rival Syphax, but those of several other petty princes; all which acts of kindness were confirmed and ratified by a decree of the Roman senate.

When Scipio's arrival was known in Italy², the joy became universal, from the Alps to the extremity of Calabria. As he proceeded to Rome, the people flocked from all parts of the country to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing their deliverer, to whose superior valour and good fortune they thought themselves indebted for their present repose and tranquillity. The soldiers who attended him on the road, showed him to the husbandmen in their fields; mothers pointed him out to their sons, and natives to foreigners, when he entered Rome³.

The dumb men throng'd to see him, and the blind To hear him speak: the very nobles bended As to Jove's statue, and the commons made A show'r and thunder with their caps, and shouts: I never saw the like 4.

Livy, l. 30, c. 45.

³ Illum omnis tectis agrisque effusa Juventus, Turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem; Attonitis inhians animis.
VIRGIL, l. 7.

⁴ Shakespear.

· The joy of the capital was in proportion to their superior knowledge of his merits and ser-The senate and people were equally Dices. unanimous in voting him a triumph, which was the most magnificent ever had been exhibited in Rome. He was honoured by the sirname of Africanus; but whether that proud distinction proceeded from the affections of the military, or the attachment of the people, is left undecided by Livy. He was the first Roman general who was distinguished by the appellation of the nation which he had conquered6; a practice which succeeding times rendered too common in Rome, and which only served, says Livy, as a precedent with men, who possessed neither the merit, nor could arrogate to themselves the virtue of Scipio; but it gratified their vanity to multiply the names of their images, and to

Silius, l. 17.

Et de tout ce qu'il fit pour l'empire Romain, Il n'en eut que la gloire, et le nom d'Africain.

CORNEILLE.

⁵ Scipio Romam rediit, et ingenti gloria triumphavit, atque Africanus ex eo appellari cæptus est.—Eutro-Pius, l. 3, c 23.

⁶ Devictæ referens primus cognomina terræ.

add new splendour to the titles of their families.

Whether Syphax was led in triumph through the city, is doubtful: if he was, it is to be regretted that the generous soul of Scipio did not oppose the observance of so barbarous a custom?; a custom which added insult to the calamities of princes, even though they had conducted themselves conformably to the rules of fair and honourable war. Can any thing be said in defence of a custom, which treats our fellow-men with contempt, insults them in their distress, and makes their misery a public spectacle of joy? But when added to all this, the like affront was offered to crowned heads, and the gallant conduct of great captains, who, before the battle, held equal rank with their conquerors; this, I say, was a degree of inhumanity, highly unworthy of a people eminent for their valour and wisdom, an unwarrantable forgetfulness of the instability of fortune, and an unpardonable insolence and arrogance, to which no parallel can be found in the practice of the most barbarous nations they conquered.

⁷ See a letter of Melmoth, on the subject of Roman Triumphs.

I do not knew, says Rollin, how Rome could justify acts of inhumanity, so contrary to that goodness and clemency, upon which she prided herself on all other occasions. No plea then can be urged in support of such an inhuman practice, except the bad one, which Horace has comprised in two lines, to flatter the pride and vanity of his countrymen:

Res gerere et captos ostendere civibus hostes, Attingit solium Jovis, et celestia tentat.

According to the account of Appian, Syphax was not exhibited in the triumph, for being unable to endure the taunts of an unfeeling rabble, he died by abstinence. The death of Syphax, says Livy, caused some diminution in the splendour of the triumph, but none in the glory of the general who triumphed. His death took place a short time previous to his exhibition, and made some noise, from being followed by a public funeral.

In opposition to both testimonies, Polybius writes, that the king of the Massæsylians was led a captive in the procession⁸, and died some

Silius, L 17.

Ante Syphax feretro residens, captiva premebat Lumina, et aurate servabant colla cotenæ.

time after in prison. But it was not the person of the unfortunate Syphax, supposing he made one in the procession, nor any other circumstance of that nature, which added so much to its real glory, as did the heartfelt feelings that arose in the minds of the Roman people, on the conclusion of a war which liberated Italy from the yoke of a formidable foe, and afforded them the prospect of domestic peace, which they almost despaired of seeing in their time. This was the cheering sentiment that made them look with such transport on the author of so happy a change, and filled them with a joy which they were scarcely able to moderate. When the glories of his triumph ended, a succession of games and spectacles followed, that lasted for several days; the expences attending which, were defrayed by Scipio, with his accustomed generosity. In process of time he was advanced to all the dignities of the republic, which he discharged with the purest honour. In five hundred and fifty-three, the second year after the battle of Cannæ, the senate and people appointed him censor, on the very first vacancy in the office. This magistracy was the most respectable in Rome, and was conferred only on such perons, as were become, if the expression

is admissible, the first citizens in the republic, in consideration of their talents and meritorious services. Besides, the honour of being descended from a Censorian family, was reckoned the brightest gem in the scutcheon of Roman nobility. The people were delighted to see him as much distinguished by the first rank in the republic, as he ever was by his superior virtues. The high opinion entertained by the nation of his military character, was surpassed by the disinterested manner in which, as a citizen, and as a magistrate, he discharged all such civil employments as were committed to his care.

The next office he filled, was that of prince of the senate, and this was always bestowed by the censors, on the citizen the most eminent for his honours and services. This appointment took place in the year of the city 557, and two years afterwards he was elected consul a second time. Whilst in this latter office, he effected one particular reform, which proved to him ever after, a source of great uneasiness, in consequence of its being made the ground of a popular resentment that was never forgotten, or forgiven. Individuals, if insulted and injured, forget and forgive;—aggregate bodies, never. In the celebration of the great anniversary festi-

vals at Rome, no local distinction had ever been made between the senators and people; all sat indiscriminately on the same benches. custom, as being contrary to decorum and good order, Scipio altered, and gave to the senators, seats separate from those of the people. reform9 was considered by the latter, as a daring violation of the apparent equality existing between the two orders, and was resented by them in the way most suitable to their usual turbulence and impatience. However, Scipio's authority and character were held in such high estimation, that the alteration passed, in spite of all the popular clamour raised against it. this measure, Scipio, it is said, repented before he died, dreading a too great ascendancy of the aristocracy in a republic, wherein an equality among the several orders of the citizens, constituted the fundamental principle of the government. Besides, he had fears lest the pride of the Patricians should give them such a superiority over the people, as might at a future day, cause one of their body to arise with ambition

⁹ A reform, says Polydore Virgil, quod et vulgi animum avertit, et favorem Scipionis magnopere quassavit.

and character enough to attempt a change in the constitution of the state, and destroy it by the usurpation of absolute power.

In the year of Rome 558, commissioners were sent by the senate to Carthage, to discover, if possible, the designs of the Carthaginians, and to learn whether any correspondence existed between them and Antiochus; at the same time they were desired to demand that Hannibal, who was supposed to be the principal agent in conducting it, should be given up to them. This proposition, so little to the honour of the republic, had been settled in a private conference with some of the chief senators of Carthage; but the moment Scipio became acquainted with its object, he reprobated it in the following language: "Is it becoming the dignity of the

¹⁰ Cesar maitre et souverain de Rome vérifie dans la suite la justesse de ses conjectures.—Seran de Latour.

[·] Livy, L 33, c. 47.

Scipio resisted like a gallant gentleman all the violence of his country, in its persecution of the great man he had conquered at Zama, and assigns his reason, "quia parum ex populi Romani dignitate esse ducebat, subscribere odiis accusationibusque Hannibalis, et factionibus Karthaginiensium inserere publicam auctoritatem, nec satis habere bello vicisse Hannibalem, nisi velut accusa-

Roman people to countenance the cabals and factions of Carthage, and to support them with the authority of the republic? Is it decent for Roman ambassadors to appear in the vile character of the accusers of Hannibal? We have conquered him in the field, our victory was bonourable: every thing beyond that is unjust."

Hannibal was soon apprised of the designs of his enemies, both at Rome and Carthage, and saw immediately that he had no resource but in flight: therefore, without making any delay, he repaired to Antiochus King of Syria, whom he found in actual state of military preparation. As soon as intelligence reached Rome, that Hannibal had gone to the court of Antiochus, ambassadors were at once despatched there, to denounce him as their enemy, and to warn his Syrian Majesty against listening to any insinuations that might have come from him, to the prejudice of the interest and honour of the republic.

tores calumniam in eum Jurarent, ac nomen deferrent."
Herein Scipio reprobates the interference of the Roman state, which would have brought it into the situation of a common prosecutor in a court of justice.

Livy affirms from the history of one Claudius, then in his possession, that Scipio was among the ambassadors, and then tells us the illustrious conversation, which was supposed to have passed at an interview in Ephesus², between him and Hannibal. Scipio, according to the historian, asked the latter, whom he thought the greatest general ever lived? the Carthaginian replied. Alexander the Great. And whom the second? Pyrrhus: and whom, continues the Roman, do you consider the third? myself cer-Yourself, returned Scipio, and what would you have said, had you conquered me? Then, replied Hannibal, I should have ranked myself not only before Alexander, and Pyrrhus, but all other generals, that ever existed.

² Whilst Hannibal was at Ephesus, we are told that, at the request of some friends, he attended the lectures of a renowned philosopher of the name of Phormio. The lecturer fully apprised of the great character that was present, harangued for a considerable time on the duties of a general, and the whole military art. When he had finished his discourse, the company seemed highly delighted: on which, one of them asked Hannibal what he thought of their lecturer? The Carthaginian very frankly answered, that he had seen many a silly old fellow in his life, but such an old blockhead, he had never seen before.—CICERO DE ORATORE, l. 2, c. 18.

conference has been made by Lucian, the subject of one of his very entertaining dialogues. This compliment was so ingeniously applied, that it distinguished Scipio from all other great captains, not only as being their superior, but as being above all comparison, which, at the same time that it flattered the polite Roman, paid the highest compliment to his own abilities. Livy admits the compliment, but ascribes it to Punic artifice; a comment so illiberal on the part of the Roman historian, proves how much he wrote under the influence of prejudice, and partiality.

In consequence of the civilities that passed between Hannibal and the Roman commissioners at this interview, the former sunk considerably in the estimation of the great King. Appian³, in noticing this conference, says, that Hannibal asked Scipio, to partake with him in the rights of hospitality, with which, Scipio would most cheerfully have complied, had he not been apprehensive of incurring the displeasure of his friends at Rome: the situation of the Carthaginian at this time, in the court of Antiochus, being what made all intercourse on the

³ Appian de Bello Syriaco.

part of the Roman, a matter of peculiar delicacy. This was the way, continues Appian, in which these great captains, by a generosity worthy of themselves, measured their enmittees only by the wars in which they were engaged.

About this time it was thought that Scipio felt a desire to leave Rome, in consequence of the ingratitude of his countrymen, which was beginning to shew itself in a way peculiarly wounding to his feelings. His mortification first arose, from having his recommendation in favour of Scipio Nasica, and Caius Lælius rejected; and in the second place, from having the very honor he solicited for his cousin and friend, conferred on a man, who had neither talents nor services to favour his suit. Surely it might have been supposed, says a modern historian, that the greatest man in the republic, might have had a majority of suffrages in favour of any candidate he espoused; and yet, strange as it may appear, he was disappointed. glory, it is true, was the greater, but it was on that account exposed to greater envy. long residence in Rome, the people became familiarized to his sight; and by seeing him every day, their admiration sunk into indifference; so true is the old saying, that too much familiarity

is oftentimes productive of not only neglect, but contempt.

We now come to the year of the city 561. when Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of Publius4, and Caius Lælius, his intimate friend. were appointed consuls, a year in which the war broke out between the Romans and Antiochus, surnamed the Great. The two consulss were connected with Africanus, both by blood and friendship, which are ties the most powerful in the intercourse of life. Each had his heart fixed upon Asia, and this circumstance gave rise to a debate in the senate, on the distribution of the Provinces. The fathers were divided in their opinions, but the majority were more disposed to favour the pretensions of Leelius, whose reputation was better known than his rival, and yet his colleague was not destitute of military merit: his services under his brother in Spain6, among which was numbered, his

⁴ Creatus igitur consul Lucius Scipio: cique datur legatus frater Africanus, ut intelligeret Antiochus, non majorem fiduciam se in Annibale victo, quam Romanos in victore Scipione habere.—Justin. l. 31, c. 7.

⁵ Cicero, Philippic 11th.—VAL. MAXIMUS, l. 5, c. 5.

⁶ In Hispania egregias res egit Scipio, et per se, et per fratrem suum Lucium Scipionem.—Eutropius.

taking the town of Oringis, having given him character as a soldier. Africanus, anticipating what the determination of the senate might be, and what would be the mortification of his brother, if disappointed, put an end to the debate with the following few words: "Conscript Fathers, if you will confer the province of Asia on my brother, I will serve under him in quality of lieutenant." This humble declaration was heard with such perfect approbation, that the controversy was instantly at an end, and the appointment made out agreeably to his wish. Italy was assigned to Lælius, and Asia to his more favoured colleague.

The splendour of Africanus's military talents, should not diminish our respect for his domestic virtues, for though he had commanded the armies of the republic, during the greater part of his life, he now condescended to accept the subordinate rank of lieutenant under his brother; a situation in which he manifested as much satisfaction, as if the entire command had been conferred on himself.

In the space of two years Lucius Scipio, aided by the counsels of his brother, obtained a complete victory over Antiochus at Magnesia, which was followed by a peace, whose conditions were dictated by the conquerors. The senate and people were so well satisfied with Lucius's conduct, that when he returned to Rome, he was saluted with the sirname of Asiaticus, in the midst of the triumph which was then decreed him. Africanus was greatly pleased with the honours that were bestowed on his brother, and never lost any opportunity of ascribing to him, the entire merit and success of the campaign.

The victory gained by Lucius Scipio, says Sir Walter Raleigh, merited the title of Asiaticus, though the virtue requisite to the purchase thereof, was in no way correspondent. The modesty and humility of Africanus's whole demeanour, during the time of his brother's triumph, gained him more genuine applause, than what could have been derived from the most brilliant success; and the senate and people

⁷ Lucius Scipio Romam rediit, ingenti gloria triumphavit, nomen et ipse ad imitationem fratris, Asiatici accepit, quia Asiam vicerat, sicuti frater ipsius propter Africam domitam Africanus appellatur.—Eutropius, l. 4, c. 4.

⁸ Some writers suppose, that Scipio affected indisposition, and remained at a distance from the camp, in order that his brother might have the sole merit of the victory.

were so sensible of the manner in which he conducted himself on the occasion, that they with one voice, hailed him a second time prince of the senate.

As in the preceding notice of Africanas's military life, attention was principally paid to the interesting circumstances attached to it, so in the following view of the war with Antiochus, we shall not depart from the same plan. The situation in which Scipio first offers himself to our consideration, is one wherein he is placed by Heraclides the Byzantian, who was dispatched to the Hellespont by Antiochus, to make the following proposals of peace to the consul, which were to this effect:-" that he, (Antíochus), would resign all his pretensions in Europe, together with the cities of Asia, that were then in alliance with Rome, and bear, besides, half the expence, that the Romans had incurred by the present war."

In answer to these proposals, the consul insisted, first, on the king's paying the whole expence of the war; next, on his confining himself within Mount Taurus; and, lastly, on his making compensation to Eumenes for whatever in-

Livy, l. 37, 34, &c.

inries he had suffered. As the ambassador considered these conditions intolerable, he applied in private to Africanus, (to whom he was ordered to pay particular attention), and offered him the restoration of his son, (who by some accident had fallen into the hands of the great king), and with him a partnership in his kingdom, if he would be content without the title of king. In what manner the son of Africanus became the prisoner of Antiochus, is not ascertained among the historians10. One eircumstance is mentioned to the credit of the great king, which is, that he paid as much attention to his education, as if he had been his own son, From such treatment Antiochus expected some consideration from the father, in the proposale he had offered; and from the love which Scipio

Filium (Africani) quem rex (Antiochus) parvo navigio trajicientem ceperat. L. 31, c. 7.—JUSTIN.

Appian says he was taken prisoner by Antiochus in Greece, as he passed from Chalcis to Demetrias. From Pliny, it would appear as if the youth had been taken in the last great battle of Magnesia, wherein he must be mistaken. His words are: "Tabulam victoriæ suæ Asiaticæ in Capitolio posuit Lucius Scipio: idque ægrè tulisse fratrem Africanum tradunt, iratum haud immeritò, quoniam filius ejus in illo prælio captus fuerat."—PLIN. 1. 35, c. 4.

had for his child, his hopes of success were not diminished. The answer which Africanus made the ambassador, was to the following effect: "I am not so much surprized that you are unacquainted with the character of the Romans and of me, to whom you are sent, as I am, that you are totally ignorant of the fortune and situation of him who has sent you. If your master had any idea, that a concern about the probable event of the war would have induced us to make peace with him, he should never have let us set foot on Asiatic ground. But having once permitted us to pass the Hellespont, he has by this act received our yoke, to which he should now submit with natience, and not pretend to treat on the ground of equality. As to myself personally, I shall consider the king's restoring to me my son, as the noblest present his generosity can make me; any other instance of his liberality, my mind certainly will never require. I pray the Gods, my fortune never may. If Antiochus will be content with my personal acknowledgment for a personal favour, he shall ever find me sensible and grateful; but, in a public capacity. I can neither give him any thing, nor receive any thing from him. Go then, and carry this answer to your king; and tell him, he is

and one if he perseveres in the war, his true interest being to make peace with the Romans, on whatever terms they are pleased to grant."

As soon as the ambassador found that the proposals of his master were rejected, he departed; and after making a report of them to his own court, it is said Antiochus shewed signs of the most violent rage, declaring, "that he was not yet reduced to such a desperate condition, as to suffer himself to be stripped of his kingdom, and that the proposals made him were rather incentives to war, than inducements to peace."

When Africanus began to reflect on the perilous situation of his son, and what might be the consequence of his answer to Heraclides, he was so overcome by the poignancy of his feelings, that he fell sick in the neighbourhood of Elea, in Ætolia. As soon as the great king heard of his indisposition, he behaved like a truly great man, and sent him his son without a ransom. Scipio's joy was so great at seeing his child, that

^{*} Δεισας δεκ θρονει αλτο και ιαχε.

Homer.

² Livy, L 37, c. 37.

It is said he sent the boy regiis muneribus donatus.—
V. MAXIMUS.

his disorder assumed a most favourable complexion, which laid the foundation of an almost immediate recovery; for as the present was highly grateful to the mind of the father, so was the satisfaction which it gave, no less salutary to his body. To the deputies of Antiochus, who came with the youth, Scipio gave the following answer: "When you return, tell your king that I thank him; and at present can make him no other return than my advice, which is, that he should not come to an engagement until he hears that I have joined the army."-It is hard, says a modern historian3, to guess what was the real import of such advice, if it was not, as another writer observes, that Scipio might have hoped, that by the delay of a few days, the king would have had time to make more serious reflections, than what he had done on the subject of concluding peace; for had he not entertained some such opinion, of what use could his presence have been to Antiochus in the day of battle?

As soon as Scipio was recovered from his indisposition, and able to travel, he set out from

³ Hooke.

⁴ Rollin.

Elæa; but previous to his arrival at Sardis, the battle of Magnesia was fought and won. Some writers, partial to the character of Africanus, are of opinion that he affected indisposition, from a desire not to rob his brother of any share in the glory, which against the present enemy, he perceived might be easily gained. The adjustment of the terms of the peace which followed the victory of Magnesia, was entirely entrusted by the consul to the care and management of his brother Africanus, who was in every point of view more qualified for the business than himself.

From the anxiety Antischus had of procuring peace on any tolerable terms, he despatched ambassadors to the Roman camp, to offer his submission. On arriving, they made their application to the consul, through the mediation of Africanus, from whom, in consideration of what had past, they conceived hopes of obtaining more favourable conditions. A council was summoned, to hear what they had to propose, when Zeuxis, the chief of them, spoke to this effect: "We are not come, Romans, to make any proposals on our part, but only to know from you, by what means our king may expiate his fault, and obtain from his conquerors forgiveness and

peace. We know it has always been your practice, with a becoming magnanimity of soul, to pardon the kings and nations you have subdued: your present victory, which has given you the dominion of the whole world, requires a more illustrious manifestation than ever of that magnanimity. You have it now in your power, Romans, after the example of the immortal Gods, laying aside all contention whatever with mortal beings, to protect and spare the human race⁵."

The answer returned by Scipio to the deputies, having been previously prepared by his council, was to the following effect: "Of what is in the power of the immortal gods, we Romans possess just as much as they are pleased to bestow. Our courage, which is under the direction of our own mind, is the same in every vicissitude of fortune: what it was yesterday, the same it is to-day; it is neither elevated by prosperity, nor depressed by adversity⁶. The

⁵ Livy, 1.37, c. 35.

⁶ Such was the sentiment of the heathens; but christianity gives us very different notions, and teaches us to believe that virtue is wholly the gift of God. It is surprising how men of such enlightened minds should have been so grossly mistaken, as never to have reflected upon the weakness of human nature, and how easily it is

peace will become disadvantageous to the king, in the exact proportion of his fortunes becoming every day more precarious by means of delay. If he makes any hesitation in accepting the terms which are now offered, let him know, that it is more difficult to pull down the majesty of kings from the highest to the middle condition of life, than it is, from that intermediate state, to hurl it down to the very lowest."

One of the conditions of peace made with Antiochus was, that Hannibal should be delivered up to the Romans, it being supposed that

turned aside from the path of virtue. Hear what Horace says, in opposition to this light of revelation:

Sed satis est orare Jovem, quæ donat et aufert,

Det vitam, det opes: æquum mi animum ipse parabo.

And what Cicero says, in his Natura Deorum: Atque hoc omnes mortales sic habent, externas commoditates ... a diis se habere: virtutem autem nemo unquam acceptam deo retulit. Nimirum recte....Nam quis, quod bonus vir esset, gratias diis egit unquam? At quod dives, quod honoratus, quod incolumis....Judicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam a deo petendam, a seipso sumendam esse sapientiam.

"The impious arrogance of this opinion of almost all heathens, (says Walker, in his excellent edition of Livy), is confuted not only by true philosophy, but by the christian revelation, which is ever consonant to true philosophy." no peace could be maintained with any prince who should afford the Carthaginian an asylum. Antiochus, to his eternal honour, is said to have rejected such a condition; and in the consideration of its being one disgraceful in itself, we will venture to assert it was never required by Scipio, but by his unforgiving country. The continued persecution of Hannibal, and the vindictive spirit with which it was carried on, were very unbecoming the dignity and manly character of the Roman people.

When at length this great, but as yet ill understood general, found that no asylum was to be had in the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia, (to which he had fled on the first suspicion entertained of Antiochus's fidelity), he withdrew to the castle of Libyssa, wherein he shut him-

⁷ Exitus ergo quis est? O gloria, vincitur idem Nempe, et in exilium præceps fugit, atque ibi magnus Mirandusque cliens sedet ad prætoria regis, Donec Bithino libeat vigilare tyranno.

JUVENAL.

³ In Bithynia vicus est juxta littus, de quo vulgatum carmen erat—

[&]quot;Corpus Hannibalis Libyssa tumulabit terra."

In Pliny's time, nothing remained of the place but Hannibal's tomb.

self up; and whilst there, he employed most of his time in forming subterraneous passages, by means of which he might make his escape, in case of being discovered and assailed by Roman malice. The moment intelligence reached him that the castle was surrounded by soldiers, and that every outlet was closely beset, he hesitated not an instant in preferring death to slavery: he resolved to die9. Then taking the poison in his hand, which he had always kept in readiness, as a sure antidote against the sharp diseases of adverse fortune, he is said, when just in the act of swallowing it, to have spoken in the following terms 10: "Let us deliver the Romans from the disquietude which has so long haunted them, and makes them so impatient to await the death of a poor old man. The time was, when they were under the influence of more generous feelings: yes, the time was, when they were known

JUVENAL.

⁹ Finem animæ, quæ res humanas miscuit olim, Nón gladii, non saxa dabant, non tela, sed ille Camarum vindex, et tanti sanguinis ultor Annulus——

Livy, l. 99, c. 51.
Liberemus curâ populum Romanum, &c.
Livx.

to warn their enemy' against impending danger. But at present what is their conduct? They basely send an embassy to seek the life of an exiled man, and to induce a feeble monarch to violate the laws of hospitality." When he had uttered these words, he drank off the poison, and died as he had lived, with the most intrepid magnanimity?! His death reflected an eternal ignominy and disgrace upon the Romans, whose insatiable thirst of power and empire, had extinguished all generous sentiments, and every spark of virtue in their minds.

This great man breathed his last, in the year of Rome 570, and seventieth year of his age, and was buried, according to the account of Aurelius Victor, in a stone coffin at Libyssa, on which were only engraved the four following words: "Annibal hic situs' est." Livy closes

² Pyrrhus.

^{——}Ac placidis exarmat fata venenis—
There, dauntless as he liv'd, the envenom'd bowl,
Freed from his bonds of flesh, his struggling soul,
And unpropitious, even in death, to Rome,
His death upbraids her from the silent tomb.

JEPHSON'S ROMAN PORTRAITS.

³ Siti dicuntur illi, qui conditi.
Sylla was the first of the Patrician branch of the Cor-

his eventful life in one brief sentence: "Hic vitse exitus fuit Hannibalis." Had Hannibal, whose tragical end we have just related, been the lawful sovereign of the Carthaginians, or one who could have commanded by his own authority, such supplies as the war wherein he was engaged, required; it is probable, writes Sir Walter Raleigh, that he would have torn up the Roman empire by the roots. But he was so strongly opposed by a cowardly and envious faction at home, that his own virtue, destitute of public force to sanction it, did at last dissolve, not only in his own ruin, but in that of his country and commonweal.

Before we have done with the Asiatic war, one circumstance merits particular attention, as far as it serves to evince the respect which was ever paid by Scipio to the established religion of his country, whenever he could make it subservient to its interests. The prodigies reported of his own birth, together with the opinions entertained of his familiar intercourse with the gods,

nelian family, whose body was not interred. It was feared that his bones might one day be treated as he had treated those of Marius, which he had caused to be dug up, and thrown into the river.

⁴ Livy, l. 37, c. 33.

seemed, as it were, to inspire him with the necessity of respecting the forms and ceremonies of the religion in which he was educated.

History informs us, that after the army of the Scipios passed the Hellespont, and lay encamped on its shore, the time arrived of celebrating the festival of the Sacred Bucklers, during which, all persons belonging to the sacred college of the Salii, were not permitted to march 5. This anniversary feast caused a temporary separation of Africanus from the army, because he. as a member of that body, was obliged to attend to its due celebration. On the appointed day. he appeared at the head of the procession as Præsul, in the usual robes of the order, consisting of an embraidered tunic, bound round by a girdle, which was fastened with buckles of brass, a high cap of a conical form on his head, a sword by his side, with a spear in one hand, and a shield called ancile, or the shield of Mars, in the other. Thus equipped, he led the mysterious dance, and joined in singing hymns in honour of the god Mars; the patron of the day.

Seneca6, in alluding to the effeminate dancing



⁵ Dies religiosi ad iter sunt, quibus per religionem non licet iter facere.

⁶ Seneca de tranquillitatê animi.

of his own time, says, that the great Sciplo; though accustomed to camps, and honoured with triumphs, used oftentimes to dance to the sound of music. His dancing was of that manly, free, and noble kind, such as those ancient worthies were wont, in solemn, or in festive seasons, to practise; and of which they had no cause to be ashamed, had they been witnessed by their enemies.

Scipio celebrated the festival with more than usual splendour, on account of its being the first time in which it was exhibited to a foreign people. He had also an idea, that nothing could tend more to inspire the troops with necessary courage for a new war, than the assurance that they were to fight under the immediate protection of the god of battles.

After peace was concluded between the Romans and Antiochus, and the troubles of Asia ended, the spirit of dissention, which the dangers of a foreign war seldom suffered to rear its head, broke out at Rome, and blazed with considerable violence. The over-zealous republicans of that period took pleasure in prosecuting the chief men of the state, conceiving, probably, that it was a degree of refined policy to humble those in time of peace, whom they had raised

to the highest stations in time of war. Two tribunes of the people, of the name of Petilii, in the year of Rome 565, at the instigation of Cato, (who seems to have inherited all the prejudices of Fabius Maximus, against the character of Scipio, in addition to his own), undertook to accuse Scipio and his brother Lucius, of embezzling the public money that was taken in the Asiatic war, and of receiving bribes from Antiochus. This proceeding was variously construed, according to people's different dispositions; some blamed not the plebeian tribunes, but the public in general, for suffering such a process to be carried on. Such was the reward which the two Scipios were doomed to reap from their country, for subduing the last enemy who could have disputed with Rome the sovereignty of the world: for after the fall of the great king, kingdom after kingdom tumbled into their lap.

The jealousy of Cato sprung originally from Africanus's appointment to the command of the army in Spain, and certainly that jealousy was not diminished by his subsequent successes in that country, all being considered by the rigid censor, as so many laurels snatched from his own brow. Ambition, observes Sir Walter

Raleigh, was the vice of Cato, which being poisoned by envy, troubled both himself and the whole city, whilst he lived: and as his birth was humble, he hated the nobility, and specially such as were of the highest estimation. At the suggestion of Cato, the two tribunes already noticed, moved in the senate, that Africanus should be cited to give an account of all the money he had received from the great king. together with such spoil as was taken in that war. A prosecution of this kind must appear strange, and almost unaccountable, when we call to our recollection the sentiments of grateful admiration that were lately entertained in his favour, and which are noticed by Valerius Maximus in the following strain of praise and panegyric8: "Our ancestors," writes that author, "were not deficient in expressing their gratitude, nor backward in bestowing such rewards as were due to the elder Africanus, for it was an object of their highest ambition, to adorn his greatest enterprises with becoming honours. They wished to place his statues in their courts

⁷ As soon as Cato saw the republic in a condition to do without Africanus, he resolved to destroy him.

⁸ Val. Maximus, l. 4, c. 7.

of justice, in their halls of public debate, and even in the very chapel of Jupiter the omnipotent; nay, his image, adorned with triumphal robes, they were desirous of laying on the holy couches of the gods in the Capitol. Had he pleased, he might have been consul for life, and perpetual dictator. But he declined all these marks of popular and senatorial favour, and acquired more credit by refusing them, than he would have gained by accepting them."

Surely those distinguished instances of high forbearance, noticed by Valerius Maximus, are sufficient to demonstrate an uncommon greatness of mind, which was able to adjust itself to the temper of a constitution founded on an equality of rights. But what then must be thought of them, says Livy, when they were acknowledged by an enemy, at the very time he was employed in censuring him? To prosecute him, of whom such sentiments were entertained, is

⁹ These extraordinary honours were offered him, it is said, on his return to Rome, after the conquest of Africa.

Ouorum sibi nullum neque plebiscito, neque senatus consulto decerni patiendo, pene tantum in recusandis honoribus se gessit, quantum gesserat in emerendis.—Val. Max.

¹ Sempronius Gracchus.

one instance among many, of what Shakespear calls "the villanous inconstancy of man." who can escape censure? The whitest virtue is often stricken by the poisonous shafts of backwounding calumny. Fox, in his Letter to the Electors of Westminster, makes an observation. which is not inapplicable to the present subject: "To be the object of calumny and misrepresentation, gives me uneasiness, it is true, but an uneasiness not wholly unmixed with pride and satisfaction; since the experience of all ages and countries teaches, that calumny and misrepresentation are frequently the most unequivocal testimonies of the zeal, and possibly the effect, with which he against whom they are directed, has served the public."

All honourable distinctions of superior merit, it is known, were as constantly declined by Scipio, as he ever persevered in deserving them; and being content with the condition of a Roman citizen, he displayed by his moderation, what Livy calls the "ingentem magnitudinem animi," the prodigious greatness of his soul.

As soon as the two Petilii, whose names have only become known to posterity by this accusation, had preferred their charge in the senate²,

² A. V. C. 565.

Scipio arose, and taking a volume of papers out of his bosom, which had been drawn up by his brother, said³—" In this volume is contained an accurate statement of all you wish to know; in it you will find a particular account, both of the money and plunder received from Antiochus."

Read it aloud, was the cry of the tribunes, and afterwards let it be deposited in the treasury. "That I will not do, (said Scipio), nor will I so insult myself;" and without saying a word more, he tore it in pieces in the presence of them all⁴: extremely hurt, observes Aulus Gellius, that the man to whom the republic owed its glory and preservation, should be called upon to give an account for money and plunder taken in war.

In some time after this, a tribune of the name of Nævius, whose fame arises from his infamy, cited Scipio to answer before the people to the same charges of the Petilii, to which were added

³ A. Gellius, l. 4, c. 18.

⁴ Tam constantem defensionem Scipionis universus senatus comprobavit.—Val. Maximus, 1. 3, c. 7.

It is not improbable, says Hooke, but that the tearing of his accounts, furnished his enemies with the chief advantage they had against him.

I cannot suppose, says Montaigne, that the most seared conscience could have counterfeited such an assurance.

the following: 5" That Antiochus had restored his son without a ransom; that he himself had received sums of money from the great king, who had shewn him as much attention and respect, as if peace and war depended on his will alone; that he had gone into Asia for no other purpose than to persuade the eastern nations (as he had before the western and southern) that he was the head and pillar of the Roman empire; that a mighty state, which was the mistress of the world, lay under the shadow of his wing, and that the decrees of the senate, and orders of the people, were all regulated by his nod."

As soon as Nævius had recited these charges, which, says Livy, were grounded on suspicions, and not on proofs, he sat down amidst the disapprobation of almost all who heard him. The pleadings, however, lasted till night, which consequently adjourned the further hearing of the business to another day. When it arrived, the tribunes took their seats at a very early hour. The accused soon after arrived, with a numerous train of friends and clients, and passing through the midst of the assembly to the rostrum⁶,

⁵ Livy, l. 38, c. 51.

⁶ Valerius Maximus says, he put on his head a triumphal crown.

mounted it without the least emotion, and from thence, with that air of dignity and confidence which conscious innocence and superior virtue alone are able to inspire, and which he preserved in the greatest danger, addressed the audience, as soon as silence was made, to the following effect: "On this day, tribunes of the people, and you Romans, I recollect that I conquered Hannibal, and the Carthaginians, the greatest enemies we ever encountered. Is it becoming us to spend a day like this in vulgar wrangling and contention? Let us not then, I beseech you, be ungrateful to the gods, but let us leave this dissentious man here, and immediately go and return thanks to them, for the many favours they have vouchsafed to grant us?."

After uttering these words, he proceeded from the rostrum to the Capitol; on seeing which, the whole assembly, that had met to decide on the conduct of the accused, leaving his accuser standing in the midst, followed⁸ the defendant

⁷ A. Gellius, l. 4, c. 18; Valerius Maximus, l. 3, c. 1; Aurelius Victor.

^{8 &}quot;Il fut suivi, (says Voltaire), par tout le peuple au Capitole, et nos cœurs l'y suivant encore en lisant ce trait d'histoire; quoiq' apres tout il eut mieux valu rendre ses comptes que se tirer d'affaire par un bon mot."

to the Gapitol, from which they attended him to his own house with joy and solemn acclamations. Even Nævius himself, says V. Maximus, to avoid the shame of his ridiculous situation. became from an accuser, a warm admirer of Scipio. An oration is said to have been spoken by Scipio on the occasion; but they who doubt its authenticity, do not deny, says Aulus Gellius, that the words above given, were the identical words uttered by Scipio. This was a day which afforded Scipio a more ample testimony of the favour of the public, and a clearer estimate of his real greatness, than that on which he rode triumphant over the vanquished Syphax, and the humbled Carthaginians. But alas! says Livy, it was the last day that shone with lustre on Publius Scipio, who, when he saw that nothing was to be expected, but an endless repetition of continual broils and disputes with an inveterate faction, yielded to the storm, and left Rome, and his unthankful countrymen, with the fixed determination of never attending another trial? Scipio's oul was so upright, his natural temper

⁹ Qui populo serviet, avido, invido, ignoro, ad Mutationem proelivi, et quod caput est, ingrato, Num aliquando beatus esse poterit?

¹⁰ Livy, l. 38, c. 52.

and spirit so lofty, and he had been used to such an exalted career of good fortune, that he knew not how to act the part of an accused man, nor stoop to the humiliating deportment of appearing as a culprit at the bar of that country, which he had saved from ruin.

The day succeeding that on which Scipio had triumphed over the worthless Nævius, the Petilii again came forward with another accusation against him, to which he deigned not to make any reply. When summoned by the cryer to make his appearance, his brother Lucius offered in excuse, that his absence was caused by sick-This apology being deemed inadmissible by his prosecutors, they insisted that his not coming, was owing to the same arrogant spirit that actuated his conduct on every former trial, and had been the cause of his treating all their proceedings with the most sovereign contempt. At last, when they were going to have him condemned by default, certain of the tribunes, at the earnest intercession of his brother, accepted the apology made, and obtained leave for having a new day set down for the hearing. This order for a new trial was signed by all the tribuses ex-

¹ Livy, l. 38, 52, &c.

cept Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus², who, unmindful of every difference subsisting between himself and Scipio, forbade his name being subscribed to the resolution of his colleagues, though all expected from him, as being an avowed enemy to the Cornelian family, a most rigid sentence.

When Gracchus rose to deliver his opinion, he said he considered sickness as a sufficient apology, for had Africanus come to Rome, and appealed to him, he would have supported him in refusing to abide a new trial; to which he added, "That Publius Scipio, by his glorious achievements, by the honours received from the Roman people, by the concordant testimony of gods and men, had risen to such an height of dignity, that were he to stand as a criminal under the rostra, and be obliged to listen to the taunts and reproaches of young men, it would

Gens inclyta, magno
Atque animosa viro, multusque in imagine claris
Præfulgebat avus titulis, bellique, domique.

This is the panegyric of Silius Italicus on the family of the Gracchi, when Sempronius Gracchus was summoned to the assistance of his country, after the disastrous battle of the Ticinus.

reflect more disgrace on the Roman people than

After pronouncing this opinion, he added with great indignation, "Shall Scipio, the subduer of Africa, stand at the feet of you, tribunes? Was it for this he defeated and routed in Spain four Carthaginian generals and their four armies? Was it for this he took Syphax prisoner, vanquished Hannibal, made Carthage tributary to you, and removed Antiochus to the other side of Mount Taurus? Was it, I say, for all this, that he is now to crouch under the two Petilii. and that you are to gain the palm of victory over Publius Africanus?-Will men of illustrious characters3, never, by their own merits, or by public honours, arrive at a safe and inviolable sanctuary, where their old age may repose, if not revered, at least secure from injury?"

This unexpected declaration from the mouth of a man who was supposed to be the mortal foe of the Scipios, made a deep impression not only on the rest of the assembly, but even on the pro-

³ Nullisne meritis suis, nullis vestris honoribus unquam in arcem tutam, et velut sanctam, clari viri pervenient, ubi, si non venerabilis, inviolata saltem senectus corum considat?—Livy.

secutors, who said that they would consider further, what might be consistent with their rights and duties. As soon as the assembly of the people was dissolved, the senate met, and ordered the warmest thanks to be returned to Tiberius Gracchus, for having consulted the public good in preference to private animosity; at the same time heavy reproaches were cast on the Petilii, for having attempted to make themselves conspicuous by the calamity of another, and to gather laurels from a triumph gained over Soon after this, the prosecution was Africanus. no more heard of-" Silentium deinde de Africano fuit," are the words of Livy. Vitam Literni egit sine desiderio urbis-he passed the rest of his days at Liternum without a wish to revisit the city.4 It is said that when he was dying, he ordered his body to be buried at Liternum; and his monument to be erected there, that even the honours of interment might not be performed in his ungrateful⁵ country: so dissatisfied was he

⁴ Scipionem dimisit respublica.—SENECA.

⁵ "Very ungrateful," says Hooke, "to ask him what he had done with the public money"—Yes, his country was very ungrateful, in preferring an unfounded charge, a charge never proved, against a man who had been its deliverer.

with the manner in which he had been treated, that he desired his wife Æmilia not to carry his bones to Rome⁶.

"He was a man," says Livy, " of signal celebrity, but his celebrity shone brighter in the time of war than in that of peace. The beginning of his life was more illustrious than the end of it, because in his early days, he was perpetually engaged in war; and as he grew old, the lustre of his character faded, in proportion as opportunities became less frequent for the exercise of his military talents. His second consulship, even if added to the honour of the censorship, was far from being equally brilliant with the first. The commission he held in Asia cannot be compared with it—a commission rendered useless, not only by indisposition, but clouded by the misfortune of his son, and the necessity

Scipio, says Swinburne, by his voluntary exile, preserved his person from indignity, without being indebted for his safety to a dispensation of any positive, though unjust law of his country.

⁶ Moriens ab uxore petiit, ne corpus suum Romam referretur.—Aub. Victob.

Cineres patriæ suæ suos negavit, quam in cineres collabi passus non fuerat.—V. Maximus, l. 5. c. 3.

⁷ Livy, l. 38, c. 53.

in which he became involved, either of submitting to a trial, or withdrawing himself from that and his country together. However, he stood alone, and enjoyed without a competitor the distinguished honour of having terminated the second Punic war, which of all wars, was the most difficult and perilous ever carried on by the Roman people⁸."

No sooner were the eyes of Africanus closed⁹, than Cato* turned the whole tide of his resentment against his brother, who being arraigned, was found guilty, with his quæstor and one of his lieutenants, of having defrauded the treasury of great sums of money which had been received in Asia on account of the public. His quæstor and lieutenant entered into security for the payment of what was due by them¹⁰; but Scipio refused giving any security whatever, and most solemnly protested he had given in a true account of all he had received. Notwithstanding this grave

⁸ Cicero, in his oration against Cæcilius, sums up the character of Scipio in these few words—Homo virtutê, fortunâ, gloriâ rebûs gestis amplissimus fuit.

⁹ Livy, l. 38, c. 54.

Mirifico livore in omnes Scipiones exardebat Cato.

^{*} See Appendix, No. III.

¹⁰ Livy, l. 38, c. 58.

protestation of his innocence, the officers of justice were ordered to convey him to prison; but whilst they were in the actual discharge of their duty, Sempronius Gracchus once more interposed, and declared, "he should make no objection to their raising the money out of his effects, but yet he would never suffer a Roman general to be dragged to the common jail, wherein the leaders of the enemy, that were taken in battle by him, had been confined."

The decree passed by the interposition of Gracchus, was to the following effect²: "Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus having obtained the honour of a triumph, and thrown the general of the enemy into prison, it seemed inconsistent with the dignity of the republic, to commit a general of the Roman people to a place where the leaders of the enemies had been by him confined. Therefore I use my interposition to save Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus from the violence of my colleagues."

Scipionem Asiaticum quamvis inimicum, duci in carcerem non est passus. T. S. Gracchus.—Aur. Victor.

² A. Gellius, l. 7, c. 19. Previous to his reading said decree, he swore, " se cum Scipionibus in gratiam non rediisse."

When the entire property of Lucius Scipio was seized and valued, it was found inadequate to the payment of the sum demanded, and what redounded to his honour was, that amongst all his effects, there was not found the trace of the smallest article which could be considered as Asiatic. His friends and relations, indignant at the treatment he had received, came and offered to make compensation for his loss: but he refused to accept of any thing except what was barely needful for his maintenance. Whatever was necessary, says Livy3, for domestic use, was purchased at the sale of his property by his nearest relations; and the public hatred which had been directed against the Scipios, recoiled on all who were concerned in the prosecution.

Can any thing be a greater proof, how transient is the gale of public favour, than the treatment shewn to Lucius Scipio? a treatment which fully justifies Cicero in the following exclamation: "How lamentable is the situation of those citizens who have done the republic the greatest services, when they find their glorious deeds not only forgotten, but often imputed to them

³ Livy, l. 38, c. 60.

as the greatest crimes." But Rome at last recovered from her phrensy, and did ample justice
to his innocence and merit*: for history informs
us, she took pleasure in making every amends for
his losses, by giving him such various opportunities of enriching himself, as enabled him for ten
continued days to celebrate games in memory
of his victory over Antiochus 4.

The Scipios were so sensible of the disinterested conduct of Sempronius Gracchus throughout this whole business, and so anxious to mark their sense of it, that they gave him in marriage the youngest daughter of Africanus, the incomparable Cornelia, whose two sons, Tiberius and Caius, were equally renowned for their virtues and misfortunes. But the following account of the manner in which Cornelia was betrothed to Gracchus, is transmitted by Livy among the traditionary stories that were current in his time. He says, that the senators who happened to sup together in the capitol⁵ the day on which

See Appendix, No. IV.

⁴ Populus Romanus Stipem spargere cæpit Spurio Posthumio, Quinto Marcio, Consulibus; tanta abundantia pecuniæ erat, ut eam conferret Lucio Scipioni, ex qua is ludos fecit.—PLIN. l. 33, c. 10.

⁵ Non contentus enim Scipio auctore senatu, in Capi-

the lictors attempted to carry Lucius Scipio to prison, all rose in a body, and requested Africanus, before the company broke up, to contract his daughter Cornelia to Sempronius Gracehus; and that a contract was executed in due form in the presence of the whole assembly. As soon as Africanus returned home, he told his wife Æmilia, that he had concluded a match for her younger daughter; at which the lady, feeling her pride wounded, indignantly cried out, that he ought not to have disposed of their common child, even to Sempronius Gracchus himself, without consulting her mother; to which Africanus made this reply; "Why, woman, Gracchus is the very man to whom I have betrothed her!"

How long Africanus lived at Liternum, or how he spent his time there, is not ascertained. He had nothing for which he could reproach himself in his retreat: not so his unthankful countrymen, whose ingratitude, as has already been observed, he did not forget at the hour of his death, when he ordered a tomb to be erected

tolio Jovis epulo cum Graccho concordiam communicasse; filiam quoque ei Corneliam protinus ibi despondit. —VAL. MAX. l. 4, c. 2.

at Liternum, wherein his bones might rest, and his country be deprived of the honour of possessing them⁶.

A modern writer, in his history of the Roman republie, regrets that the memory of Scipio should be marked by so peevish a stain; particularly when the memory of Hannibal is free from such an aspersion, though treated worse than Scipio; adding, that it is the part of such men to do what others cannot perform, and that of the vulgar and malicious to detract from their Other Romans were proud of their merit. country, but Scipio was perhaps the first Roman who thought, not without reason, that his country should be proud of him; and who, accordingly bore the freedom of being questioned as a criminal by his fellow-citizens, with impatience and disdain. However, in consequence of what he said, when dying, of his country's ingratitude, he was denied a funeral

⁶ Africanus Superior non solum contusam et confractam belli Punici armis rempublicam, sed pene jam exsanguem atque morientem, Africæ dominam reddidit: cujus clarissima opera injuriis pensando cives vici eam ignobilis ac desertæ paludis accolam seceruat: ejusque voluntarii exilii acerbitatem non tacitus ad inseros tulit, sepulchro suo inscribi jubendo, ingrata Patria, ne ossa quedem mea, habes.—Valebius Maximus, l. 5, c. 3.

⁷ Ferguson.

oration, a tribute of respect not refused to the commonest patrician. This mark of attention was not only refused him, but accusations of misconduct were exhibited against him by his enemies. The splendour of his victories, and the advantages he obtained for his country, were insufficient to protect and shelter him from the murmurs of the envious and the calumnies of the mean⁸. Hence is founded this great and important truth, that there is no security against injury or reproach, but what is placed in the consciousness of integrity and virtue.

Be this thy brazen bulwark of defence, Still to preserve thy conscious innocence, Nor e'er turn pale with grief 10.

HOBACE.

⁸ Scipio was accused of being a great sleeper, and that for no other reason, says Montaigne, but that men were displeased, that he was the only man in whom no other fault was to be found. Montaigne quotes no authority for the above anecdote.

⁹ A good conscience is a port, which is land-locked on every side; and where no winds can possibly invade, no tempests can arise. There a man may stand up on the shore, and not only see his own image, but that of his Maker, clearly reflected from the undisturbed and silent waters,—DRYDEN.

 ^{——}Hic murus aheneus esto
 Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.

Yet notwithstanding all the displeasure that existed among certain people at Rome, the day on which the news of Scipio's death was known, proved a day of general sorrow: for the very men who refused to pay him the appropriate and usual honours, could not help mingling their tears with those of the public.

Livy says, he saw at Liternum the monument which was erected to him, and the statue which stood on the top of it, lying on the ground, where it had been blown down by a storm. Pliny writes, that in his time was to be seen a myrtle of an extraordinary size, growing at Liternum, underneath which was a cave wherein, it was said, a dragon watched the soul of that great man. There were also to be seen some olive trees3 planted by his own hand. All these inconsiderable objects serve to shew how much the idea of greatness is attached to every circumstance connected in the most distant manner with illustrious men; and the reason is, that each inspires interest, and claims some attention.

¹ Livy, l. 38, c. 56.

² Item myrtus eodem loco conspicuæ magnitudinis. Subest specus, in quô manes ejus custodire draco traditur. —PLIN. l. 16, c. 43.

³ Manû satæ olivæ.-PLIN. l. 16. c. 43.

There was a monument of the Scipios at Rome, outside the Capenian gate, whereon were erected three statues, two of them were said to be those of Publius and Lucius Scipio, and the third that of the poet Ennius. The erection of this monument in happier times, proves that great men, though they have suffered more persecutions in republics than in other forms of government, yet sooner or later the day of retribution arrives, wherein ample justice is paid to their memories4. Though no people were more capable of appreciating the reward due to merit, than the Romans, we must at the same time allow, that the remembrance of no man, was more likely to inspire such a sentiment than that of Africanus.

That commonwealths have frequently treated with great severity their eminent generals, is a matter which requires little demonstration, it appearing from history, that such states have generally made use of them, as men have done

⁴ One eminent mark of respect was shewn to Scipio's memory, even in Valerius Maximus's time, who lived in the reign of Tiberius—"Imaginem in Cella Jovis optimi maximi positam habet, quæ quotiescunque funus aliquod Corneliæ celebrandum est, inde petitur, unique illi instar atrii, capitolium est.—Val. Max. l. 8. c. 15.

of great trees, under which they have taken shelter, in foul and stormy weather; but when the weather has become fair, they have stripped them of their leaves and plucked off their fruits, and cut down their longest and fairest branches.

Having noticed two visits paid to Liternum by Livy and Pliny, I shall take the liberty of mentioning a third, which was lately made to it by the author, of the Classical Tour through Italy, a work which, for good taste and liberal sentiments, merits the attention of every gentleman and scholar. "The situation of Liternum," says the author, "is neither beautiful nor healthy,

^{5.} Rev. John Chetwode Eustace; by whose death, pelite literature has lost a warm admirer, and the Catholic Church an enlightened friend.

⁶ Literni honestius Scipio, quam Baiis exulabat: ruina eius non est tam molliter colloconda.—Seneca, Eris. 51.

Sénéque y possedoit la maison où Scipion l'ancien passa les dernières années de sa vie. Elle étoit batie de pierre de taille, avec une muraille et de tours, dans le gout d'une forteresse. Elle etoit située au milieu d'un bois d'oliviers et de myrtes; on voyoit de ceux-la du tems de Pline, qui avoient été plantés de la main de Scipion deux cens cinquante ans auparavant. On y voyoit un beau reservoir capable d'abreuver un armée, et un petit bain étroit et tenebreux à la mode des anciens.—Gibbon.

but its name is ennobled by the residence of Scipio Africanus, who passed there the latter years of his life, a voluntary exile, in obscurity, rural labour, and philosophical studies. ther he was buried at Liternum, or not, was a subject of doubt even in Livy's time; however, either a tomb or cenotaph was erected to him there: a stone, on which the word Patria is still legible, is supposed to have contained part of the inscription ingrata patria, &c. and gives to the modern tower the appellation of Torre di Patria7. His villa still remained in the time of Seneca, and seems to have been built with great solidity, and surrounded like a Gothic castle with a wall and tower. A rampart was also necessary, as it stood on the confines of the Gullenaria Pinus, a forest at one time the abode, and at all times the occasional resort, of banditti."

If, as some authors write, Scipio died at Liternum, it is probable that his ashes were first

⁷ Torre de Patria, une lieue au nord de Cumes, à l'embouchure du Linterne, ou Clanio, est une ancienne tour, ainsi appellée parce qu'on y voit en gros caracteres le mot Patria, reste d'une ancienne inscription; c'etoit, diton, le Tombeau de Scipion l'Africain.—De la Lande, t. 7.

interred at his villa, and were afterwards conveved to the family sepulchre in Rome, on the Via Capena, where a sarcophagus was found a few years ago, inscribed with his name⁸. Cicero speaks with great confidence of the year in which Scipio died: vet Livy found so great a difference of opinion among historians on the subject, that he declares himself unable to ascertain it. From a fragment in Polybius we learn, that in his time the authors who had written of Scipio, were ignorant of some circumstances of his life, and mistaken in others; and from Livy it appears, that the accounts respecting his life, trial, death, funeral and sepulchre, were so contradictory, that he was not able to determine what tradition, or whose writings he ought to credit. The general opinion is, that he died in the fifty-seventh year of his age; though a modern writer9 in his Universal History, without quoting any authority, says he died at his country seat at the age of forty-eight.

M

⁸ Swinburne, in his travels through Italy, says, that no urn or monumental inscription belonging to this illustrious member of the family of the Scipios, has been found in their sepulchre lately discovered at Rome, near the gate of St. Sebastian.

⁹ Anquetil.

No character has been celebrated with more cordial praise by ancient and modern writers, (Hooke excepted), than that of Scipio Africanus. His name stands at the head of the most eminent military characters¹⁰ of the republic, as being a man, whose talents as a soldier were peculiarly conspicuous; for at the age of seventeen, his father owed him his life, at the battle

¹⁰ One of Scipio's memorable sayings in war, I shall give the reader from Valerius Maximus .- Scipio Africanus used to sav, that in the business of war, it was disgraceful to cry, I had not thought, non putarum, he being of opinion, that all matters to be transacted by the sword. were not to be undertaken, till after most serious and well-weighed deliberation, and the justice of the same fully ascertained. For that error is not to be remedied. which is committed in the heat and violence of war. added, we should never engage with an enemy except where the necessity was urgent, and the opportunity favorable-most prudent advice. For to omit an opportunity of fighting, when there is every prospect of success. is madness in the extreme: to which may be added, that the man who is forced to the necessity of fighting, and yet declines the contest, terminates his own pusillanimity by the most disastrous issue. Of such as commit these blunders in war, the one party knows not how to make use of the smiles of fortune, nor does the other know how to resist her frowns .- VAL. MAXIMUS, 1.7, c. 2.

of the Ticinus; and his country, its safety at the battle of Zama. Scipio was frequently heard to say, that he had rather save the life of a single soldier, than destroy a thousand enemies; agolden sentiment, which was frequently in the mouth of the virtuous Antoninus Pius. this humanity of disposition, he was not only beloved by his army, who considered him as their father and protector, but likewise by all foreign nations, who admired his goodness and equity. In the sedition that broke out at Sucro, in Spain, which necessarily required the making some examples, he said, he thought it like the tearing out of his own bowels, when he saw himself obliged to expiate the crimes of eight thousand men by the death of thirty.

But besides the many rare gifts of nature that Scipio had above all others, there was in him also, according as the old writer of his life wordeth it, a certain princely grace and majesty. Furthermore, he was marvellous gentle and courteous unto them that came to him, and had an eloquent tongue, and a passing gift to win every man. He was very grave in his gesture and behaviour, and ever wore long hair. In

¹ Ceperat jam ante Numidam (Massinissam) ex fama M 2

fine, he was truly a noble captain, worthy of all commendation, and excelled in all virtues, which did so delight his mind, that he was wont to say, (according to the report of Cato the censor), "that he was never less idle than when at leisure, nor less alone than when alone²." A magnificent sentence, exclaims Cicero, and wor-

rerum gestarum admiratio viri: substitueratque animo speciem quoque corporis amplam ac magnificam. Ceterum major præsentis veneratio cepit; et præterquam quòd suapte natura multa majestas incrat, adornabat promissa Cæsaries, habitusque corporis non cultus munditiis, sed virilis verè ac militaris, et ætas in medio virium robore, quod plenius nitidiusque ex morbo velut renovatus flos juventæ faciebat.—Livy, l. 28, c. 35.

² Cicero de Officiis, l. 3, c. 1.

St. Ambrose, in the first chapter of his third book de Officiis, shews that the maxim in the text is older than Scipio, and that it was verified in a more illustrious manner in the characters of Moses, Elijah, Elisha, and the Apostles, who performed so many miracles, when they seemed to be engaged in no employment. He adds, that a good man is never alone, because he is perpetually present with God; that he is never unemployed, because he is always meditating; that he seems to be unknown, and yet stands in the most eminent point of view; that when death seems to extinguish him, he enjoys a more happy state of existence; that he is never more joyful, than when he

thy of so great and wise a person; by which it appears, that in the midst of leisure, he could turn his thoughts to business, and was used. when alone, to commune with himself; so that he was never properly idle, nor ever stood in need of company to entertain him in his solitude. The fame of his illustrious actions was so great, that wherever he went, all descriptions of people were anxious to visit him; and a report was current at the time, that several captains of pirates came to see him, and kiss his victorious hands'; for virtue has such power and influence with all ranks of people, that it makes not only the good, but the bad, to love and respect it. What a public display is here given of this great man's glory4, which could extort respect, and as it were, a sort of veneration, from loose and pro-

seems to be in affliction; never richer, than when he seems poor, because all his happiness consists in the rectitude of his mind.

³ Valerius Maximus, l. 2, c. 10.

⁴ Quid hoc fructu majestatis excelsius? Quid etiam jucundius? Hostis iram admirationê sui placavit: spectaculo presentiæ suæ latronum gestientes oculos obstupe-fecit. Delapsa calo sidera, hominibus si se offerant, venerationis amplius non recipient.

digate men, who lived in the open and constant violation of all justice and humanity! The old historian of the life of Scipio, says, his enemies oftentimes proved his valiantness, the vanquished his merey and elemency, and all other men his faithfulness. He then notices an epitaph that was found near Caieta, on a plate of copper set in a marble tomb, which I will take the liberty of giving, as modernised from the old English version.

The man that laid the Punic trophies low,
And foil'd her champion, Rome's most dreaded foe;
Who with fresh laureate wreaths her temples crown'd,
And o'er new kingdoms stretch'd her empire's bound,
Here lies in dust—the monumental stone,
A sad memorial, tells her glory gone;
Whom Europe, and whom Afric scarce of old
Contain'd—is now a little heap of mould.

What does Lucretius write of our mighty hero?

Scipiades, belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror, Ossa dedit terræ, proinde ac famul'infimus esset. The Roman chief, the Carthaginian dread.

Scipio, the thunderbolt of war, is dead,
And like a common slave, by fate in trimaph led.

But where are now vanished the splendid glo-

ries of the mighty Napoleon, whose numberless victories almost bore the stamp of supernatural agency?

Embattl'd nations strove in vain
The hero's glory to restrain;
Streams arm'd with rocks, and mountains red with fire,
In vain against his force conspire.
Behold him from that tow'ring height
In ocean, set in endless night.

In what manner Scipio passed his time at Liternum, is little known; Pope supposes he was equally great there, as he was in all the magnificence of triumph:

Bold Scipio, Saviour of the Roman state, Great in his triumphs, in retirement great⁵.

Some writers say, Scipio amused himself during his retirement, in the cultivation of his farm, and in the conversation of the wise and good, without feeling the least regret at being excluded from a scene in which he had appeared with so much honour to himself, and advantage to his country. "Endeavour," says a noble writer, in his Reflections on Exile, "to copy after the ex-

S. Boyse.

Such was the lot th' immortal Roman chose, Great in his triumph, greater in repose.

ample of Scipio at Liternum. Be able to say to yourself,

"Innocuas amo delicias, doctamque quietem.

"Rural amusements and philosophical meditations will make your hours glide smoothly on; and if the indulgence of Heaven has given you a friend like Lælius, nothing is wanting to make you completely happy."

In all Scipio's campaigns, Lælius was his chief assistant, and the man in whom he placed his greatest confidence. But the friendship subsisting between them, was not more conspicuous than was that which connected afterwards the son of the one with the grandson of the other⁵.

——Non celeres fugæ, Rejectæque retrorsum Annibalis minæ: Non incendia Carthaginis impiæ, Ejus, qui domitâ nomen ab Africâ Lucratus rediit, clarius indicant Laudes, quam Calabræ Pierides.

HORACE, O. I. 4, O. 8.

⁶ It should be observed here, that Lord Bolingbroke often confounds the younger with the elder Scipio; a mistake into which Montaigne has fallen; and what is much more extraordinary is, that even Horace has scarcely avoided it.

Whether Lælius cheered the hours of Scipio's retirement, is not distinctly marked in history by any writer. The poet Ennius is known to have been held in such particular esteem by him, that he ordered the body of his learned friend to be placed by his side?. The very wish he felt of having the same common sepulchre with so distinguished a poet, is a decided proof of the love he had for polite literature:

Here Scipio rests, and Ennius, side by side, One Rome's high chief, and one Calabria's pride⁸.

Valerius Maximus⁹ observes, that Scipio paid this very particular honour to Ennius, from a conviction that his own actions would derive ad-

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⁷ Fu Scipione uno de' primi eroi della Romana republica, chi alla gloria dell' armi quella ancor delle lettere felicimente congiunse; ed Ennio fu uno de' dotti uomini cui egli anche in mezzo al rumore dell' armi godeva di avere a fianchi.—TIRABOSCHI.

Prior Africanus Q. Ennii statuam sepulchro suo imponi jussit, clarumque illud nomen, imo verò spolium ex tertià orbis partè raptum, in cinere supremo cum poetæ titulò legi.—PLIN. 1. 7, c. 30.

Ennius emeruit, Calabris in montibus ortus Contiguus poni, Scipio magne, tibi.

Ovid, Ars Amatoria, l. 3, l. 409.

9 Lib. 8, c. 14.

ditional lustre from the poet's writings; that the memorial of them would endure as long as the Roman empire should flourish, and Africa be subject to Italy, and the Capital command the world, provided that they had the advantage of being rewarded in the works of genius.

But with that blazonry to crown his name,
Which Clio's hand bestows; for this the bard
Was the prime object of the chief's regard;
For honour loves, beneath the Muse's eye,
Ambitious of her smile, the task to ply:
Whoe'er aspire to deeds of high renown,
The Muse's charms with holy rev'rence own.

If there is an exceptionable part in Scipio's public conduct, says an elegant modern writer, it is that of not vindicating his character from the charge of the impeachment, and treating the accusation with the utmost disdain. When he refused complying with the summons for his appearance, and withdrew to his villa, he answered all the purposes which they who were the most

Non sine Pieriis exercuit artibus arma, Semper erat vatum maxima cura duci, Gaudet enim virtus testes sibi jungere musas, Carmen amat quisque carminê digna gerit.

moderate among his enemies, had in view by the prosecution; and as it removed him by a sort of voluntary exile from Rome, it rendered his power no longer an object of danger or alarm. Besides. it was the opinion of the most constitutional republicans, that no citizen ought to stand so high above his fellows, as not to be made amenable to the laws for his conduct; for it was their opinion, that nothing contributed more towards maintaining the equilibrium of liberty, than that the most powerful should be brought to trial; Cato being used to say, that that commonweal could not be accounted free, which stood in awe of any man. The greatest services joined to the clearest innocence, are not deemed sufficient to justify a general's holding himself unaccountable to the public, whose servant he is, for the administration of whatever is committed to his earc.

The best of men have ever lov'd repose;
They hate to mingle in the filthy fray,
Where the soul sours, and gradual rancour grows,
Embitter'd more from peevish day to day,
Even those whom fame has lent her fairest ray.
The most renown'd of worthy wights of yore,
From a base world at last have stolen away;
So Scipio to the soft Cumæan shore,
Retiring, tasted joy he never knew before.

¹ Livy, l. 38, c. 50.

Thomson-Castle of Indolence.

It is the opinion of the writers of the Encyclopædia, that there is not perhaps a person who does greater honour to the Roman republic, than Scipio Africanus, who was accustomed to persuade his soldiers, that he was directed and inspired by the gods; yet after giving this as their opinion, they ask, how it came to pass, that the gods did not inspire him to give in his accounts? To this may be offered the following solution-Scipio could not dispute the constitutional right his enemies had of bringing him to a trial; but the conviction he felt within himself, of his own unspotted innocence, was the true cause of his not pleading in vindication of what, he thought, required no defence. His pride was wounded by unjust suspicion, and his wounded spirit dictated nought but silence. This silence he vainly imagined would have been as eloquent in his justification, as if he had spoken with the tongues of men and of angels. Even Tiberius Gracchus was so convinced of his innocence, that though a resolution had passed for sending the proper officers to compel his appearance to the last tribunitial summons, he interposed his negative, and declared that the apology pleaded in his favour, of ill health, was sufficient; at the same time saying, that Scipio's house should be respected as sacred from all'violation, in consideration of his personal merit, and the great public services he had rendered to his country.

The period of the world in which Scipio lived, was the most interesting of any in the histories of-Greece or Rome; it was a great moment, and Sciplo was equal to it. His birth, according to Valerius Maximus³, was preordained by the gods, that there might be one man in whom virtue was to appear arrayed in all her native perfection. But characters are sometimes best appreciated by considering them in a comparative point of view, or juxta-position with others. Let us then compare him to the greatest and best men of antiquity, the first Cæsar, and the first Cato; I would rather say, reputed to be the best and greatest, for I am far from thinking them so in reality. Compare the first trait of Cæsar's character. I mean his producing at his aunt's funeral, in defiance of the dictator Sylla, and at the hazard of his own life, the images of Marius4, a bad citizen, to the first act of Scipio, the saving of his father's life at the battle of the Ticinus,

³ V. Maximus, l. 6, c. 9.

^{*} Cæsar made a speech in commendation of his aunt Julia, the widow of Marius, and caused images of her to be carried in the funeral procession.—Hooke, vol. iii. p. 304.

and the preservation of the remains of the Roman army after the battle of Cannæ. Compare the unconstitutional commission obtained by Casar with immense intrigue for the command in Gaul for ten years, by which he was enabled to raise an army and exercise a power independent of the constitution; and did thereby raise an army which he afterwards marched against Rome. Compare such an aet with the honourable manner in which Scipio obtained the government of Spain, when nobody else had the courage to undertake it; and his reconciliation and reconquest of that kingdom to Rome, together with the formation of an army which he afterwards carried into Africa. Compare Cæsar's passing the Rubicon, and driving the senate out of Rome, to Scipio's passing into Africa, and his drawing Hannibal out of Italy. Compare the battle of Pharsalia, fought against a fellow-citizen, and an inferior captain, with that of Zama, fought against the eternal enemy of Rome, and the greatest general that ever lived, except him who conquered him. Compare their subsequent triumphs—that of Cæsar, wherein he exhibited the image of Cato⁵, and that of Scipio, in which

⁵ Appian notices the circumstance of Cæsar's introducing into his triumph a representation of Cato tearing out his own bowels.

he exhibited the image of Syphax; that of Cæsar over his country, and that of Scipio, which was the triumph of his country over the rest of the world. Let us now compare the consequences that followed the two battles; and first, that of Pharsalia, which was succeeded by the establishment of a tyranny that cursed mankind for ages, over the greatest part of the earth, in the person of one man, until the house of Cæsar had not only disgraced and dishonoured all the great families of the empire, but punished them for their ambition; and then turned on itself, and murdered every soul belonging to it, so that not one remained of the execrable race. Compare such a consequence of the battle of Pharsalia to that of Zama, which placed Rome at the head of the world. Compare Cæsar's ascending the throne in consequence of his victory, possessed of the entire power and wealth of the Roman state, after sacrificing above a million of men to raise himself to that bad eminence, and at the same time projecting the conquest of Parthia, that there should be no end to slavery, or respite to the shedding of blood. Compare all that to Scipio's refusing the consulship and dietatorship for life, and retiring without power, without wealth, and without reward, to the seaside, to enjoy solitude, learning, and the conversation of a few chosen friends, together with his own conscious superiority over the rest of his fellow-citizens.

To continue our comparison—compare Cæsar's mercy with that of Scipio; the mercy of the latter, who gave to his captive every thing he had; and the mercy of Cæsar, who robbed his fellow-citizen of his liberty, and left him only his life. Compare Cæsar's gallantry with Cato's sister, to Scipio's continence and amiable demeanour towards the Spanish captive. Behold Scipio appealing to the gods from the accusation brought against him by a dissentious tribune, and Cæsar threatening the officer with death, who opposed him when breaking open the treasury. In fine, compare the political intrigues of

Metellus was the tribune who opposed this violent measure, which caused Cæsar to treat him with great roughness; telling him that it was in vain to talk of laws in the midst of arms, and that he was master not only of the money, but of the lives of all he conquered. The tribune not being intimidated by this language, persevered in his opposition. Cæsar then threatened to kill him, saying, "An ignoras, adolescens, difficilius esse mihi dicere hoc, quam facere?"—Don't you know, young man, that it is harder for me to say it than to do it?

Casar with Clodius, his friendship with Antony, his persecution of Cicero, and his toleration of Catiline, with Scipio's friendship with Laslius, with Ennius, with Sempronius Gracchus, and all the best men of the age in which he lived.

In considering the relative situations of Scipio and Cato, the following circumstances are not undeserving of attention, as they serve to illustrate their respective characters. Cato had not the opportunities which Scipio possessed: he had not the command of the Spanish war, nor of the riches of the East: but as he had not the opportunities, he consequently-had not the merit arising from them. Cato protested against the luxuries of the East, and the existence of Carthage; Scipio resisted the first, and subdued the latter, by which he made the censor his involuntary panegyrist. Scipio opposed the malice of his country in the persecution of Hannibal; Cato fomented this malice, in her persecution of the conquered city of Carthage, and assisted in abetting a false charge against a man who had saved his country, in this point of view becoming a seditious incendiary against innocence and virtue. Cato persevered in keeping alive the people's ingratitude and injustice; by doing which, Scipio's brother was tried and found guilty; but as the grounds of his conviction were not sufficient, the condemned man was acquitted, and his persecutors confuted. This disingenuous conduct on the part of the censor, in addition to his uniform persecution of Scipio, brings Cato down to his proper standard of estimation, a first-rate in rigour, a second-rate in virtue.

In our comparison of Scipio with Caesar, we omitted to observe, that the only point wherein their characters can admit of equality, is in the art of war, and even in this respect, it is no easy matter to ascertain their comparative merits; for it is to be observed, that though Cæsar was allowed to possess the first-rate talents for war, he never had to contend with a first-rate general. The two greatest battles ever fought, were those of Zama and Pharsalia, for the one gave the world to Rome, and the other gave it to Cæsar. In the first, Scipio conquered the most consummate general that ever lived; and in the last, Cæsar fought against a second-rate general, and would have been beaten, had he fought against a first, for Hannibal, in Pompey's situation, would have conquered, and the dynasty of the Caesars had never existed?. The pre-eminence

⁷ On one occasion Cæsar said to his friends—" This day the victory would have been the enemy's, had their general (Pompey) known how to conquer."

of men is ascertained with some tolerable precision when they undertake, and successfully perform, that from which other men withdraw, or that which other men oppose. Scipio undertook the government of Spain, which all appeared to decline; and he carried the war into the enemy's country, at the time the enemy was in his own, in direct opposition to the opinion of most men of that day⁸, but since admitted by all great generals to be a wise stratagem of war.

I have dwelt the longer on the comparison of Scipio and Cæsar, because the world is ever disposed to prefer courage to justice, though the one we have in common with the brutes, the other with the Deity; for if, among the ancients, some men have been esteemed heroes by the achievements of great conquests and victories, it has been by the wise institution of laws and government, that others have been honoured and esteemed as gods.

To conclude, Scipio was equal in courage, and superior in every other consideration, to Cato and Cæsar; he was greater than the greatest of bad men, and better than the reputed best of good ones.

⁸ Cicero, in allusion to this circumstance, says in his fourth oration against Catiline, "Sit Scipio clarus, ille, cujus consiliô atque virtutê Hannibal in Africam redire, atque ex Italia decedere coactus est."

APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE Abbé Seran de la Tour, in his Life of Scipio Africanus, says, I have seen this shield, the memorial of Allucius's gratitude, in the King of France's cabinet of medals; it contains forty-six marks of pure silver, and is twenty-six inches in diameter. The plain uniform taste which is observed through the whole design, in the attitudes and the contours, shews the simplicity of the arts in those days, when they avoided all foreign ornaments, to be the more attentive to natural beauties.

Jephson, in his Roman Portraits, has given an engraving of this Clypeus Votivus, taken from Drakenborch's Silius Italicus, of which he mentions its dimensions, its weight, &c. Now, if the figures described on it are such as are represented in the engraving, there can, I think, be no doubt of its being intended for the story in the text; and yet Northleigh, in his Travels, is of opinion, that the engraved piece of sculpture cannot be a buckler. See a Dissertation sur les Boucliers Votifs, Acad. des Inscriptions. Ce Bouclier, que Scipion emporta avec lui en retournant

à Rome, fut englouti par les eaux au passage du Rhone avec une partie du baggage. Il etoit demeuré dans ce fleuve jusqu' en 1665, que quelques pecheurs le trouverent. Il est aujourd'hui dans le cabinet du Roi de France.

Montfaucon gives a representation of the shield, and seems to entertain no doubt of its authenticity. It was published by Spon, and taken from the cabinet of M. du May, of Lyons. The same writer mentions the pummel of a sword, on which were engraved the words, Carthago, duce Hannibale, subacta gladio et virtute Scipionis; but of this he has great doubts.

No. II.

HOOKE, in noticing the story in the text, says, I would not wish the reader to believe Valerius Antias, who reports that Scipio acted a quite contrary part to what is given him by Livy. Aulus Gellius (on whom the Roman historian relies) says, it is related, though he knows not whether truly or otherwise, that Scipio, when a young man, was not immaculate, it appearing from Cneius Nævius the poet, that he who often carried on great affairs with glory, whose exploits yet live, and flourish, who alone is renowned among mortals, was by his father led away in his shirt from his mistress."

This is the account, says Aulus Gellius, which induced Valerius Antias to express himself as he has done, concerning the morality of Scipio, in contradiction to all other writers, and to say that the captive damsel was not restored to her relations, but was detained by Scipio, and used by him for his own private gratification. But then it may be asked, what dependence can be placed on the evidence of a poet, who was in the constant habit of lampooning the nobility of Rome in his writings, and who for a libel was thrown into prison? And in the next place, what evidence can be given to Valerius Antias, whose authority is called in question, both by Livy

and Aulus Gellius, the former saying that little credit is due to an historian who in the immance of amplification was most intemperate? And it is well known, that he who will amplify on one occasion, will diminish on another, it being the same intemperate passion that carries him indifferently to either. How light and inconsiderable is sometimes the matter which subjects the best-established characters to the suspicion of posterity, which, observes Bishop Warburton, is as often malignant to virtue, as the age which saw it in its insufferable glory; and how ready is it to catch at a low revived slander, which the times that brought it forth, saw despised and forgotten in its birth?

One would have hoped so meen a slander, as that uttered by Valerius Antias, might have alept forgotten in Anlus Gellius's common-place hook, and yet we see it quoted as a fact by a noble writer, in his Patriot King. His words are: "Now the reputation of the first Scipio was not so clear and uncontroverted in private as in public life; nor was he allowed by all to be a man of such severe virtue as he affected, and as that age required. Nævius was thought to mean him, in some verses Gellius has preserved; and Valerius Antias made no scruple to assert, that far from restoring the fair Spaniard to her family, he debauched and kept her.

*Notwithstanding this, what authority did he not

maintain? In what esteem did he not live and die? With what punegyrics has not the whole torrent of writers rolled down his reputation, even to these days? This could not have happened, if the vice imputed to him, had shewn itself in any scandalous appearances, to eclipse the lustre of the general, the consul, or the citizen."

From what has been stated of the characters of such a poet as Navius, and such an historian as Valerius Antias, we are concerned to find their slander advanced by one of the finest writers of the age in which he lived, to such a degree of credit, as may have induced many superficial readers and warm admirers of Lord Bolingbroke's writings, to call in question the reputation of the greatest and best man of ancient Rome. But if a man was pure as snow, he would not escape calumny.

No. III.

THE following observations are taken from De La Lande's Travels in Italy, and which occurred to him on visiting Liternum.

"Ce grand homme, vainqueur d'Annibal, de Syphax, et de Carthage, à qui les Romains avoient offert de le créer consul et dictateur perpetuel, etait en butte à Caton, ce rigide censeur, qui n'avoit jamais loué personne, et qui ne cessoit d'aboyer, allatrera suivant l'expression de Tite Live-Scipion fut accusé de peculat : on pretendoit qu'il avoit vendu la paix à Antiochus; mais au lieu de se justifier, il dit tout haut, "Romains e'est à pareil jour que j'ai vaincu Annibal, allons en remercier, les Dieux:" tout le monde le suivit, et ses accusateurs furent abandous nés. Cependant Scipion indigné de cette accusation. se retira dans sa maison de campagne près de Literne, où il mourut 187 ans avant Jesus Christ. Il y fut enterré avec le poete Ennius qu'il avoit toujours aimé, et qui avoit chanté ses victoires. voyoit sur son tombeau cette inscription, ingrata patria nec ossa mea habebis; et l'on croit que le mot patria qu'on voit sur cette tour, est le reste de l'inscription."

No. IV.

THE following extract is taken from a letter of Senera to Lucilius, which I give, as serving to mark the respect which was entertained for the character of Scipio in his time.

Africanus, after rendering due homage to the manes and tomb of that great man, wherein I suspect his cames repose. I have no doubt of his soul being returned to Heaven, from whence it came; and this opinion I hold, not because he commanded mighty armies, but because he possessed great moderation and great piety, virtues which were more to be admired in him when he left his country, than when he defended it.

"That Scipio must be deprived of Rome, or Rome of liberty, became a matter of necessity. "I do not wish (says Scipio) to lessen the respect that is due to the laws and constitution of my country. Let all its citizens enjoy equal rights. Reap, my countrymens, the advantage of what good I have done you. I have been the cause of your liberty, and will give you a proof of it myself. If I am grown greater than what is consistent with your safety, for your safety I will leave you."

"How is it possible not to admire that magnani-

mity of soul, under the impression of which he went into voluntary banishment, for the purpose of defivering the city from all their apprehensions on this account! for when he found that matters were come to such a pass, that either liberty was to offer visclence to Scipio, or Scipio to liberty, of which nesther was to be done, he yielded to the laws, and retired to Liternum, making his exile a subject of as great reproach to Rome, as was that of Hannibal's to Carthage.

"Whilst at Literaum I saw his villa, which was built of square stone, and surrounded by a wall that enclosed a wood: the wall was flanked with towers. that served as bulwarks on each side for its defence. Near the house and garden's was a clatern, sufficient to supply with water a whole army. I examined his bath, which was narrow and gloomy, after the and cient fashion, our ancestors being of opinion, that a bath could not be warm enough, unless it was close. Here, in this sequestered spot, Scipio, (the terror of Carthage, and the man to whom Rome was indebted for not being twice captured). vised to bathe his body, after being fatigued with rustic toils. In this place he employed himself daily in husbandry. and tilled the ground with his own hands, as his forefathers had done before him. Under this low and sordid roof stood Scipio, disdaining not to tread its plain earthen floor. But what Roman now adays would thus condescend to bathe? In this bath I observed some chinks, rather than windows, which were cut out of the stone wall, to let in the light, in such a way as not to injure the strength of the building. Doubtless it was delightful to enter into these baths, dark as they were, and plastered with common mortar, that might have been tempered by the hands of Cato when ædile, or Fabius Maximus, or some one of the Cornelian family.

"It is true, certain people might condemn Scipio for not admitting the sun into his baths by large casements, or for not scalding himself in open light, or for not being more anxious about having his meals fully digested in a bath. I pity the poor man, say they; he know not how to live. He washed not himself in clarified water, but was content with what was muddy, after a heavy shower of rain. Nor did he care whether he bathed so or not; for he came not to wash away perfumes, but sweat, the effect of his labour.

"I don't envy Scipio, (some of our fine modern folks might say); he lived in exile, and had little or no taste for bathing. Besides, he did not bathe every day; for if any credit is given to those who have written on the ancient customs of the city, our ancestors used to wash only their legs and arms every day, which by labour had contracted dirt, but their entire body only once on the ninth, or market-day.

"Here again some body may ancisim, Surely our ancestors must have been great slovens! What do you suppose they smelt of? I will tell you. They smelt of military duty, hard labour, and manly exercises. For my part, since the discovery of costly baths, I think men have become more offensive; and what says Horses, in speaking of such effeminate sparks?

Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gorgonius hircum.

SENECA, Epist. 86.

THE END

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